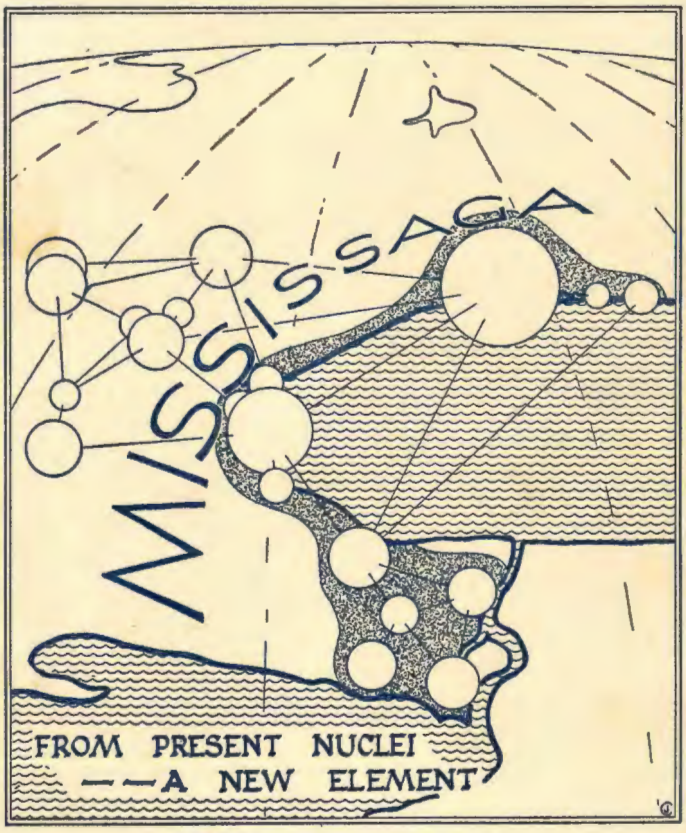
COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW



Volume IV, 1954

REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

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COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW

REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

Editor: Eric Beecroft

Volume IV **Ottawa, 1954**

COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

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Photographic Surveys (Western) Ltd.

Area of Planning Progress

Greater Vancouver, viewed from the West.

In the foreground, west of the city of Vancouver, is the University of British Columbia and its Endowment Lands. The mouth of the Fraser River is shown at the bottom right. The forested peninsula north of Vancouver, reaching across Burrard Inlet, is Stanley Park. North Vancouver is the community shown in the upper left; while beyond Vancouver is Burnaby and, in the distance, New Westminster.

Une région en plein essor d'aménagement

Le Plus Grand Vancouver vu de l'ouest

Au premier plan, à l'ouest de la ville de Vancouver nous voyons l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique et ses terres privilégiées. Nous apercevons, en bas à droit, l'embouchure du fleuve Fraser. La péninsule boisée au nord de Vancouver, qui s'étend dans l'anse Burrard, s'appelle Stanley Park. North Vancouver est la communauté montrée en haut à gauche, tandis qu'au delà de Vancouver, c'est Burnaby et, au loin, New Westminster.

EDITORIAL NOTES

ALTHOUGH views may differ as to means and directions, we do not need today to argue the general case for community planning. With our exasperations in city traffic, our failure to find parking space downtown, our concern about the tax burden, our desire for safe streets and recreation areas, our interest in the location of schools, churches and shopping centres—with such problems facing us daily, we have all become fluent arm-chair planners. We are all at least vaguely aware that someone, somewhere, should be giving direction to urban development; and, as we reflect a little, we realize that direction is best given by bringing to bear the weight of a considered community opinion.

A citizen's interest in planning may begin with, say, a concern over the delays involved in getting water, sewers and paving extended into his community. As he pursues his object, he not only finds common cause with many others, but encounters people with competing and opposing interests. Solutions, he finds, must be arrived at by discussion, compromise and cooperation. He learns quickly that community planning—for better or for worse—is a large part of the task of local government. Only a little more inquiry is needed to show that many local governments cannot cope with their planning problems for at least three primary reasons.

First, the geographic boundaries of local governments no longer bear any operational relationship to the areas which must be viewed for planning purposes. Consequently, confused and frustrating efforts must be made to secure inter-municipal cooperation; and it is only rarely—usually when a disaster occurs or is threatened—that the initiative of local citizens can break through the web of technicalities, winning the cooperation of sister municipalities and senior governments.

Secondly, our municipalities are dependent upon the senior governments, especially provincial, for legislative assistance in carrying out long-term plans; and, on the whole, our provincial legislation in Canada is still far from adequate to meet the urgent planning requirements of our communities.

Thirdly, there is a dearth of professionally-trained planners and—not unrelated to that dearth—a lack of public awareness of the importance of a trained planning staff as well as a planning-minded citizenry.

These three basic needs are the subject of many of the articles in this volume: articles written almost entirely in the light of Canadian experience. There is a deliberate emphasis, for example, upon the planning experience of local governments and the problems of regional planning. A determined regional approach is urgently needed in many parts of Canada: "Mississaga" is only one of the more spectacular problem areas where vital questions of land use and governmental procedures demand prompt, cooperative and intelligent solutions.

Dr. Watson's article on *Basic Problems* is a challenge to all planners in this country to take a fresh view of their local tasks in the light of Canada's geographic position and the status of our resources in relation to our own and the world's economic needs. And is it only editorial pride which prompts us to predict that Dr. Putnam's *Mississaga* and Dr. Rose's *Metropolitan Growth* will inaugurate the great decade of improvement in our governing and planning structure? Greater Toronto's experiment in metropolitan government is being conducted in a glare of continent-wide publicity, and it will be helpful, not only to "Metro", but to hundreds of other areas if that experiment is now supported by an acceleration of regional planning and research wherever it is needed. One of the suggestions which come to mind is that we should consider the feasibility in this dynamic age of making municipal and regional boundaries subject to easy alteration. Would it not be appropriate for every province to provide that (as in the case of our parliamentary constituencies) a re-examination of municipal boundaries would be mandatory every ten years?

* * *

The position of the professional planner is also underlined by several of our authors. What impresses the editor in the articles of Mr. Sutton Brown and Mr. Carver and the pieces on *Why We Hired a Planner* is that they do even more than demonstrate the need for trained planning staff. It is the *interaction* of planning staff, technical specialists, town councillors, planning board members and citizen groups which accomplishes sound community planning. Professional planners "who plan with us, not for us" are not ivory tower experts. They and their other civil service associates are simply the full-time technical participants in a process by which citizen opinion is intelligently formed and competently enforced.

One of the notable lessons of these articles seems to be that, just as professionals are to be kept out of the ivory tower, so laymen must rouse themselves from their arm-chairs and go to work with one another and with the experts in the process of civic government and civic planning.

* * *

The very rapidity of Canadian growth is providing the impetus for planning effort. Some of our booming new communities are engaging planners and their citizens are increasingly alive to the problems of future growth. Old communities, moreover, are encouraged and enlightened by the experience of the new. But it is in our old communities where many of the most perplexing problems are to be found. It does not detract from the excitement of reading Noel Dant's case history of Edmonton to realize that the redevelopment problems

of Montreal and Toronto are going to call for a great deal more technical ingenuity, largeness of vision and democratic patience than have so far been applied to any of our planning problems.

As a handbook for those redevelopers who want to make maximum use of the legislative aids now available for dealing with run-down, blighted areas, we are happy to present Alan Armstrong's *Federal Aids to Urban Repair and Replacement*. The REVIEW assumes, without argument, that the redevelopment of our urban cores is one of the most urgent of the planning tasks ahead. If the argument is needed, let it be read almost daily in the reasoned columns of *The Globe and Mail* and summarized in recent issues of that paper (November 10 and 13, 1954) as follows:

> Redevelopment is essential to provide decent housing conditions for lower income families, but it is no less important as a means of restoring or increasing the assessed value of taxable property in the city. Much of the city's downtown area is getting old. While individual buildings might be rehabilitated at reasonable cost, whole areas ought to be wrecked and rebuilt . . . . It would cost a good deal of money. But the new values in terms of human existence, in terms of new assessment and therefore vastly higher civic revenue, in terms of liberated progress, would be beyond calculation. . . . Redevelopment would pay enormous dividends. To continue as we now are is the certain road to civic bankruptcy and a more and more degraded existence for many thousands of people."

* * *

In the Canadian economy, mining, lumbering and pulp-processing must be carried on in many remote isolated communities. "Single-enterprise" towns therefore, are likely to remain and increase in number. These scores of "new towns" are planned and built, usually owned—and sometimes governed—by private companies. Many of them have not been planned by professional planners; and little study has been given to their social and cultural characteristics. As a result of a survey of such towns sponsored by Queen's University, Mr. H. W. Walker is able to give us a very interesting description of their lay-out and their way of life. No doubt, the physical conditions of life are better for the inhabitants of these towns than for their counterparts of twenty and more years ago; but it is evident that, if their people are to receive the full benefits of the Canadian way of life, there are a great many problems remaining to be studied carefully, both by the companies and by the public.

* * *

What about the siting of schools and churches in our communities? At what stage of community growth are sites chosen for schools? What procedures are followed by school and church boards in the selection and acquisition of sites? Are school sites considered as a secondary matter, to be found—with high cost and inconvenience to the taxpayer—only after residential, shopping and industrial zones have been allocated? What places will schools and churches have in the many central redevelopment projects of the future?

The school questions are being left for future issues of the REVIEW and the NEWS. With respect to the churches, not all of the answers will be found in the articles by the Reverend Mr. Kerr and Father Lacoste. But these Church authors have opened up a subject which will be studied with much interest by our readers and dealt with again in future issues.

* * *

The surge of industrialization has made a tremendous impact upon the life of Quebec, disturbing the pattern of its old settlements and demanding great adjustments in municipal planning. Disorganized and ribbon development have destroyed much of the coherence and beauty of Quebec's historic communities and scenery which are such a priceless heritage of this country. Fortunately, the study of Quebec's urban development, described by Dr. Roger Marier, is going to provide basic data which will be of immense value to community planning in that province.

* * *

The idea of this 1954 REVIEW and the outline of its contents were the contributions of Mr. Jacques Simard. The Association has been exceedingly fortunate in having Mr. Simard's continued editorial assistance, always freely and graciously given. It is to him that we owe the French translation of these editorial notes.

The reader may have noted that the many authors represented in this REVIEW are busy practitioners of community planning, either professionally employed on a full-time basis or at work as lay planners in the midst of other activities. Their contributions are a measure of their loyalty to one of the most enthralling activities of our era. Indeed their work lends emphasis to Humphrey Carver's interesting comment on the training of planners as a means of coordinating and enriching the scholastic activities of the University. This comment might well be applied to the wider life of the community. For citizens engaged in community planning—in the teamwork of architects, engineers, geographers, economists, administrators, and, not least, the lay members of our civic bodies—are helping one another to create the physical conditions and the *sense* of neighbourhood out of the drab environment which we have inherited from an age of mechanization and specialization. Can it not be said that this neighbourly work of synthesis—this patient day-to-day teamwork between specialists and citizens—is in itself the most vital process in a twentieth century democracy?

Notes de la Rédaction

MÊME si les opinions peuvent varier sur la façon d'orienter ou de mettre en pratique l'aménagement communal, point n'est besoin d'en discuter la nécessité. Notre exaspération au milieu du trafic urbain, notre impossibilité de trouver un endroit où stationner au cœur de la ville, notre inquiétude sous le fardeau des taxes, notre désir pour des rues non dangereuses et des terrains de jeux, notre souci quant aux sites des écoles, églises, centres d'achats—devant tant de problèmes à résoudre tous les jours, nous sommes tous devenus d'éloquents urbanistes en herbe. Nous sommes tous conscients, du moins vaguement, que quelqu'un, quelque part, devrait imprimer une direction au développement urbain; et, si l'on réfléchit un tant soit peu, nous concluons que cette direction sera d'autant meilleure qu'on aura su utiliser le poids d'une opinion générale bien avertie.

L'intérêt du citoyen dans l'urbanisme peut naître, disons, de l'inquiétude devant les délais inévitables avant que les services d'eau, d'égouts et de pavages n'atteignent son quartier. Cherchant une solution, il rencontrera non seulement des voisins sympathiques à sa cause mais aussi des concitoyens dont les intérêts s'y opposent ou exigent la préséance. Il s'aperçoit que la réponse viendra dans la discussion, le compromis, la coopération. Il saisira vite que l'aménagement communal—à tort ou à raison—compte pour beaucoup dans la besogne de l'administration locale. Inutile d'aller bien loin pour découvrir que l'administration locale, dans bien des cas, ne peut pas résoudre ses problèmes d'urbanisme pour au moins trois raisons essentielles.

D'abord les frontières géographiques de l'administration locale ne concordent pas pour la mise en œuvre avec les aires que l'aménagement concerne. Le résultat se voit dans des efforts imprécis et désappointants pour obtenir une coopération inter-municipale; et c'est sûrement très rare—ordinairement quand un désastre est arrivé ou menace—que l'initiative des citoyens réussit à pénétrer le fouillis des technicalités pour gagner la coopération des municipalités voisines et des gouvernements supérieurs.

Deuxièmement, nos municipalités dépendent des gouvernements supérieurs, surtout provinciaux, pour l'assistance légale essentielle aux projets à long terme; or, en général, la législation provinciale au Canada est loin d'être à la hauteur des besoins urgents de nos municipalités en ce qui concerne l'urbanisme.

Troisièmement, il existe une carence d'urbanistes bien préparés et—liée à cette carence—une ignorance chez les citoyens de l'importance d'un personnel spécialisé dans la matière tout autant qu'un public gagné à l'urbanisme.

Ces trois conditions, essentielles, font l'objet de plus d'un article dans ce livre: articles écrits presque tous à la lumière de l'expérience canadienne. On y trouve, par exemple, une attention particulière qui se porte sur les problèmes d'urbanisme au niveau de l'administration locale comme ceux qu'on rencontre au niveau régional, dans bien des endroits au Canada: "Mississaga" n'est qu'un des endroits dont le problème complexe embrasse des questions essentielles d'usage du sol et de procédures gouvernementales demandant une solution prompte et intelligente basée sur la bonne entente.

L'article du Dr Watson sur les *Problèmes de Fond* est un défi à tous les urbanistes du pays de regarder à nouveau leurs problèmes locaux à la lumière de la position géographique du Canada et l'état de nos ressources naturelles en fonction de nos besoins économiques ainsi que ceux du reste du monde. Serait-ce notre fierté comme éditeur qui nous pousse à prédire que le *Mississaga* du Dr. Putnam et le *Croissance métropolitaine* du Dr Rose vont inaugurer la grande décade d'amélioration dans la structure du gouvernement touchant l'urbanisme? L'expérience de Toronto en fait de gouvernement métropolitain se poursuit dans l'auréole d'une publicité qui couvre le continent; elle sera utile, non seulement à la "Métro", mais à des centaines d'autres endroits si cette expérience est aidée au plus tôt d'un aménagement régional basé sur la recherche là où c'est nécessaire. Une idée qui nous vient à l'esprit est que le dynamisme de notre temps requiert des changements faciles dans nos frontières municipales et régionales. Ne serait-il pas essentiel que chaque province décrète (comme c'est le cas pour nos comtés parlementaires) une révision des frontières municipales tous les dix ans?

* * *

La place de l'urbaniste de profession est soulignée par plusieurs de nos auteurs. Ce qui impressionne l'éditeur dans les articles de M. Sutton Brown et M. Carver ainsi que dans les réponses à *Pourquoi avons-nous engagé un urbaniste?* c'est qu'ils prouvent plus que la seule nécessité d'un personnel compétent en urbanisme. Ce sont les rapports entre le personnel urbaniste, les conseillers techniques, les édiles, les membres du comité d'urbanisme comme les groupes de citoyens qui permettent la réussite d'un sain aménagement urbain. Les urbanistes professionnels qui "aménagent avec nous, non pour nous" ne sont pas des experts retirés dans leur tour d'ivoire. Ils sont avec leurs associés du service civil, les participants techniques dans le processus qui consiste à diriger intelligemment l'opinion publique et la mettre en œuvre de façon compétente.

Une des leçons remarquables qui découle de ces articles semblerait être que de même que les urbanistes doivent être retenus hors de leur tour d'ivoire, ainsi les citoyens doivent se lever de leur fauteuil pour travailler

de concert et avec les experts dans le processus du gouvernement civil et de l'aménagement urbain.

* * *

C'est la vitesse avec laquelle le Canada se développe qui incite à un effort pour aménager. Il y a de nos villes champignons qui s'adjoignent des urbanistes et leurs citoyens comprennent de plus en plus les problèmes de l'accroissement à venir. Les vieilles agglomérations, de plus, prennent courage et sont éclairées par l'expérience des nouvelles. C'est tout de même dans nos vieilles villes que les problèmes les plus compliqués peuvent se rencontrer. Cela n'enlève rien à l'intérêt de l'histoire d'Edmonton par Noel Dant que de se rendre compte que les problèmes de réaménagement de Montréal et de Toronto vont exiger plus d'ingénuité technique, de largeur de vue et de patience démocratique que jamais encore on a appliqué à la solution de problèmes d'urbanisme.

Comme manuel à ces urbanistes qui veulent utiliser pleinement, dans leurs problèmes de réaménagement, l'aide légale disponible pour les quartiers usés, insalubres, nous sommes heureux de présenter *L'Aide Fédérale au rajeunissement et au réaménagement urbain* par Alan Armstrong. La REVUE accepte sans argument que le rejeunissement de nos centres urbains est une des tâches les plus pressantes pour l'urbaniste. S'il faut des raisons, qu'on lise les colonnes du *Globe and Mail*, où un commentaire à peu près quotidien était résumé dans les journaux des 10 et 13 novembre 1954, en ces termes:

> "Le réaménagement est essentiel si l'on veut donner aux familles à revenu modique une habitation raisonnable, mais il n'est pas moins nécessaire comme moyen de redonner ou d'augmenter l'évaluation de la propriété taxable dans la ville. Une grande partie du centre de la ville est âgée. Tandis que certains édifices pourraient être rajeunis à un coût raisonnable, il y a des zones entières qui devraient être rasées et reconstruites . . . Ce qui coûterait cher. Mais les valeurs nouvelles, en terme d'existence humaine, par rapport à une nouvelle évaluation et des revenus municipaux largement accrus, en vue du progrès ainsi lancé, dépasseraient tout calcul . . . Le réaménagement paierait d'énormes dividendes. Continuer comme nous allons, nous mène à une faillite urbaine certaine et à une existence de plus en plus dégradante pour des milliers de citoyens."

* * *

Dans notre économie canadienne, les mines, les forêts, la pulpe sont ouvrés dans des agglomérations souvent isolées. Les villes d'une seule industrie sont appelées à demeurer sinon à augmenter. Ces quelque vingt "villes nouvelles" sont aménagées et construites, parfois gouvernées, par des compagnies privées dont elles sont souvent la propriété. Trop d'entre elles n'ont pas été aménagées par des urbanistes de profession; peu d'attention a été porté à leurs particuliarités sociales et culturelles. A la suite d'un relevé de ces villes, dirigé par l'université Queen's, M. H. W. Walker peut nous faire une description intéressante de leur lotissement comme de leur façon de vivre. A n'en pas douter, les conditions physiques sont supérieures pour les habitants de ces villes à ce qu'elles pouvaient être il y a vingt ans ou plus; mais il est clair que si leurs citoyens doivent bénéficier de notre façon canadienne de vivre, il reste plus d'un problème à approfondir tant par les compagnies que par le public.

* * *

La vague d'industrialisation a porté un coup énorme au mode de vie du Québec, dérangeant les dispositions des vieilles agglomérations et exigeant des réaménagements considérables. Des aménagements sans ordre ou en ruban, le long du réseau viaire, ont anéanti en grande partie ce qui faisait un tout, la beauté des sites et des agglomérations historiques, héritage sans prix de ce pays.

Heureusement, l'étude du développement urbain dans Québec, tel que décrit par le Dr Roger Marier, amènera les données essentielles à l'aménagement communal dans cette province.

* * *

La conception de cette Revue pour 1954 ainsi que les grandes lignes du contenu sont attribuables à M. Jacques Simard. L'Association est très heureuse de pouvoir compter pour la rédaction sur l'assistance toujours prête et toujours généreuse de M. Simard. C'est ainsi que nous lui devons la traduction de ces notes.

* * *

Nos lecteurs ont pu remarquer que plus d'un auteur collaborant à cette REVUE est en pleine action dans le champ de l'urbanisme, soit comme employé professionnellement à plein temps, soit comme profane au milieu d'autres entreprises. Leur contribution est la mesure de leur enthousiasme envers l'une des activités les plus prenantes de notre temps. De fait, leur travail met en valeur ce commentaire intéressant de Humphrey Carver qui voit dans l'éducation des jeunes urbanistes un moyen de coordonner et d'enrichir les activités scolaires de l'Université. Ce commentaire pourrait bien s'appliquer au champ plus vaste de la vie communale. En effet, les citoyens engagés dans l'aménagement communal—dans l'équipe d'architectes, d'ingénieurs, géographes, économistes, administrateurs, sans négliger les simples citoyens de nos corps publics—se prêtent main forte pour créer les conditions physiques et l'ambiance d'un voisinage à même le milieu terne que nous a légué l'âge de la machine et de la spécialisation. Oserait-on dire que ce travail en commun de synthèse—ce travail d'équipe, patient, au jour le jour entre spécialistes et citoyens—est en lui-même le moyen d'action le plus important de notre démocratie du vingtième siècle?

UBIQUE,

UBIQUE — A Canadian Tale

by George S. Mooney*

ONCE there was a little town that grew to the point where it was fast on the way to becoming a big city. The name of the town was Ubique and it was located on the river by the same name in the Province of Ubique and in a country that everyone knows but which nobody calls by its right name because its right name, like the name of the town and the river and the province, was also Ubique. Which, of course, was confusing; but nobody thought so, for the truth of the matter was that everybody in Ubique was sort of confused, so that it really didn't make much difference!

Now, when Ubique was a little town, it was a pretty town, hardly more than a village. There was one main street and several lesser ones, the loveliest of all being the road that curved along the river's edge just above the high water mark of the spring floods and along which a stately row of maples and elms gave a pleasant shade by day and a lace-like covering against the cooler breezes of the night.

Along the river road, just past the bend where the last house in the little town of Ubique had as its neighbour the first farm in the surrounding countryside, there was a sheltered and quiet inlet where several large willows overhung the river. In winter, when the ice had frozen, this was the skating pond where all the young folk gathered. In spring, it was their favourite fishing hole. In summer, it was here that they swam and, later, when the harvest moon was rising low in the purple of an autumn evening, it was along the shore, sheltered by the bend of the river and the protecting willows, where the corn roasts were held.

In those days, nothing very extraordinary was happening in Ubique. The rhythm of life pursued an even and uninterrupted tenor. Young folk got married, babies were being born, the old folk looked back upon their days and were content. Life repeated its endless cycle and, though it brought to every family its days of sweet sadness, there was nonetheless a quiet sureness that all was in order and all was well . . . It would be wrong to suggest that there was confusion in Ubique in those days. That began much later.

Its beginnings, although nobody was aware of it at the time, go back to a Saturday morning in 1900. Some would say that it was even earlier than that. They will tell you that, if it hadn't been for the railroad that had been built in 1890, the events of Saturday, June 10th, ten years later, might perhaps never have occurred . . . Be that as it may, when those two young men stepped off the train that Saturday morning, that was the occasion that marked the almost unnoticed beginnings of the sort of confusion which, over subsequent years, came to typify the thinking of the good citizens of Ubique.

For when two bronzed and healthy-looking young men arrive in town carrying two suitcases and a strange looking contraption that has the appearance of a telescope set up on a tripod, something is bound to happen. And it did! . . . Not many weeks later, the townsfolk learned that the farm that borders the river just beyond the last house in the village had been sold and that a dam was to be built across the bend in the river just at the point where the willows spread themselves around the little inlet and where, from time immemorial, certainly in the living memory of the oldest among them, the ice pond and the fishing hole and the swimming pool had always been and where, in autumn, the corn roasts had always been held . . . The even rhythm in the life and folkways of the people of Ubique wavered and passed, almost imperceptibly, from one cycle into the next . . . A powerhouse and a factory had come to Ubique!

Now, there's nothing evil about a powerhouse and a factory. They're symbolic of the ingenuity and creative genius of man. But powerhouses and factories do strange things to towns like Ubique. They bring new people. The town grows. More houses have to be built, more stores, new schools and churches, and all the other things that a growing town needs. They bring other industries too. Like attracts like. The availability of power, railroad and modern highway facilities, proximity to markets, surplus labour, access to raw materials and other considerations soon mushroom a small town into a large town, a large town into a city and a city into a metropolitan area . . . And so it was with Ubique.

In 1900, it had been a little more than a village. By 1910, it had a population of 10,000 people. By 1920, it

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was close to 20,000. By 1930, it had grown to 35,000. In 1940, it boasted 52,000 souls. And by 1950, fifty years after 1900, the Bureau of Statistics, following the decennial census, stated that, by actual head count, 64,309 persons lived and worked in the Incorporated Municipality of Ubique . . . Also in fifty years, the town limits, which in 1900 embraced some 740 acres, by a process of annexations, had been extended and now encompassed an area of about 10.2 square miles . . . Nor was that the whole story.

On every highway leading out of town, there was a ribbon development that stretched for miles. And immediately adjoining the built-up area, where not so long ago farmers tilled the soil, on all sides of Ubique and even across the river, new sub-divisions were opening up. Many of them, willy-nilly, seemed to spring into existence overnight. In the morning you passed by an open rolling field, a field of raw land. You passed by at night and, as if by a miracle, bull-dozers had levelled it down and the excavation for a long row of houses had been dug. In no time, the houses were finished and the occupants moved in . . . And so it went. On all sides of Ubique new communities were developing. Some had incorporated themselves as separate municipalities and some had not. But they all took their life and strength from the little town that had now developed into the prosperous and thriving urban community called Ubique . . . There seemed to be no end to Ubique's mushrooming growth.

The old-timers wagged their heads and sometimes wondered where it would all lead to; but, by and large, most of the good citizens of Ubique accepted progress as inevitable and went their merry way without too much concern for the future. Not that they were entirely happy about all aspects of the Ubique scene. In chit-chat and at public meetings, there was a strong undertone of dissatisfaction with "civic affairs" and the way the city was being "run" . . . Everyone had his own ideas as to what he would do if he was the mayor or a member of the City Council. But there wasn't much unity of thought among them. Mainly, they were confused and bewildered. They'd been that way now for the better part of thirty years; more than fifty if you go back to that Saturday morning in 1900, the day that marked the beginning of Ubique's emergence from a pleasant pastoral village to a modern urban town.

For thirty, fifty years, the confusion had been accumulating. You only had to read the editorials in the local newspapers to realize the extent of it. Or, better still, attend a meeting of the City Council and listen in on one of the discussions, always heated, sometimes acrimonious, about planning and zoning and building by-laws and parking regulations and things like that. Bewildered! That wasn't the name for it. Befuddled! Yes, but even that doesn't describe the state of mind that the people of Ubique had gotten themselves into.

Not that they were confused about everything. By no means! . . . Ask the average Ubiquer about certain things in Ubique and he had no doubts whatsoever.

He would tell you that Ubique had one of the finest police and fire departments for a city its size anywhere and that the spic and span and closed-in garbage collection trucks with their white-uniformed attendants were the last word in sanitary efficiency. They were fiercely proud of their modern schools and of the civic library that adorned the largest city park. From the shiny new city hall to the crimson red water hydrants and the imposing light standards on either side of Main Street where, not so many years before, maples and elms and oil lit street lamps had symbolized a Victorian village, Ubique was, in most respects, a model town. . . . The citizens of Ubique would be the first to admit that dollar for dollar, they got more value out of the money it cost them for their municipal services than from any other money they spent.

If sometimes there were regrets that the pleasant nook at the river's bend had long since passed into disuse as a rendezvous for skating, fishing, swimming and corn roasts, and if sometimes there were romantic signs recalling the good old days when Ubique was hardly more than a village, well and good, these were memories of the past and, meanwhile, Ubique had come a long way. Such was the price of progress and there was no doubt that Ubique had paid the price. . . . Progress was everywhere in Ubique.

But, with it all, the citizens of Ubique were none too confident that "all was in order and all was well" . . . The merchants along Main Street were among the most vocal. Business, they said, was moving to the suburbs. The parking problem was becoming intolerable. At the Parents and Teachers Association, there was lively concern over the mounting toll of street accidents. But it wasn't only a matter of parking and traffic. The Chamber of Commerce and the Real Estate Board were disturbed about the declining value of property in the downtown business section. The Citizens' Committee had joined hands with the Welfare Council to urge that something be done about slum clearance and low-rental housing. The Ubique Automobile Club was out to widen Main Street and cut the jags off the river road. They also wanted an expressway that would move traffic in and out of town without having to slow down or wait at every intersection until the cross-traffic passed by. Ideas! There were ideas galore! Everybody had them; but nobody—not even the City Council—did much more than talk about them. The Ubique Daily News was campaigning for "Action—any kind of action—but Action!" The Property Owner's League was for action, too; but they were opposed to any increase in the mill rate. Mainly, they were in favour of good civic government by which they meant . . . well, they weren't quite sure.

Meanwhile, down at the City Hall, mayors and councils had come and gone. In the best tradition of Ubique, the average mayor had served a year or so, following which, with the assistance of the electors, he had resumed the simple and less hectic pursuits of an average citizen. Nor did the average council member fare much better. Those who had survived the recurrent annual decimations would tell you that, over the years, much heated argument had taken place trying to agree upon some orderly plan for the rational growth and redevelopment of Ubique. Some things had been done, but, mainly, whatever had been done had been dictated by the expediencies of the moment coloured by those political exigencies which, to the political mind, are the summum bonum, raison d'être and golden rule of public office.

Plans! Ubique's archives were full of them! Back in 1920, a local architect had come forward with the idea that what Ubique needed was a Master Plan. It became a slogan around which the townfolk rallied. A prominent consulting firm from Metropolis was engaged to draw up a scheme. Two years later, the plans arrived. And then the hubbub began! Some were for it holus-bolus. Others thought that the "*matter was too important to rush into without due consideration of its long term implications and costs*". Others were for parts of it. Some opposed it completely. People took sides, all kinds of sides; for it; against it; under certain conditions; too bold; not sufficiently imaginative; too functional; not sufficiently functional; too grandiose; too plebeian;. . . . In 1928, another town planner was engaged to draw up a new proposal. . . . In 1930, still another. . . . Over the subsequent years more and more plans for the replanning and redevelopment of Ubique were drawn up. The slogan of 1920 had become a shibboleth by 1950.

The situation was well summed up in an editorial of the Ubique Daily News:

> "Fifty years ago", said the editorial, "Ubique was a quiet, quaint and somewhat remote village community, a community of dirt roads, wooden sidewalks, kitchen pumps and outdoor privies. There were relatively few 'modern' household appliances and even fewer civic amenities. In 1900, it is doubtful if any citizen of Ubique had ever seen an automobile".
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> "Today, almost every household in Ubique has an electric stove and refrigerator and a hundred and one other devices and gadgets including flush toilets and one or two cars in the garage. Compared to an earlier time, the average Ubique home is a King's castle. But what about Ubique itself? It's grown bigger but has it grown better? In some respects, yes. In other respects, no; and a very big NO! The city has doubled in size since 1930, trebled since 1920, is more than five times greater in population and area than it was in 1910; and it's no longer a village of the 1900 vintage. It's a city of close on to 65,000 people and authorities tell us that it will probably double that figure within 25 years. What can we show for our fifty years of civic growth and development? Modern homes, yes! Parks, yes! Modern schools, yes! Efficient and sanitary garbage collection and disposal, yes! A civic library and a new city hall, yes! And yes, yes, yes to other things, too. But along with new and modern homes we're still crowding ten percent of the population into obsolescent and blighted housing of the worst sort. We don't like the word, but the truth of the matter is that Ubique's slums are no better than the worst anywhere. And what goes for slum housing goes for our slum factories as well."
>
> "Two-thirds of Ubique can be described as an attractive modern community. One-third of it is worn out and run down and needs redevelopment. It's a hodge-podge of things new and old. Ubique needs a face-lifting and some modern surgery. It needs wider streets, more off-street parking, grade separations at certain intersections, more open spaces, as well as other physical improvements and functional ameliorations. There is nothing incompatible about a city being both beautiful and functional. Ubique is neither. It has a facade of loveliness; but, behind the facade, there's more ugliness than beauty. In some sections there is orderly design and arrangement; but, in the main, Ubique is about as functional as a Rube Goldberg cartoon."
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> "Citizens' resolutions, bridge table discussions and city hall debates—not even newspaper editorials—are going to change anything in Ubique. The only way that we can make Ubique into the sort of place that we all want it to be is to get some experienced planner and let him go to work refashioning and remoulding this city that we all love into the kind of a city that it ought to be. Let him become part of our municipal family. On some technical aspects of our problem he may need the help of consultants specialized in the field; but mainly he will himself study and work out a scheme of redevelopment and a plan for the future that, over the years, we can systematically bring into being. Ubique needs a planner more than it needs plans. The plans will follow. But first the man. If he's the right man—and the right man can be found—he'll be worth all that we pay him and more. For what shall it profit us to keep on suffering the intolerable blight and decay and congestion that spreads like an incipient disease about our homes and offices and factories when, by taking hold of the problem, we can arrest its malignancy and restore to the community a well-being of which we and our children's children can be justly proud. Only thus can we give the future its assurance that Ubique will continue to be a pleasant place to live in, a good town to work in and the kind of a city where business can prosper and develop. Let's get a planner and get him quick!"

Well, that did it. . . . Within a matter of months a town planner was added to the city hall staff and a proper department set up. . . . That was nearly three years ago.

No, a miracle hasn't happened in Ubique. The slums are still there. The parking problem, if anything, is a little worse. The crosstown expressway hasn't been built. But things are happening. . . . For the first time since Ubique's accumulated aches and pains became at all

acute, Ubique now knows what has to be done to remedy the situation. And, what is more, how to go about it.

Ubique hasn't yet got a master plan but it has a planner and the planner is showing the way. A basic plan is emerging and parts of it have already been carried out: those obvious things that every town should have done long ago, like eliminating the jags in the old River Road and widening Main Street by cutting down the excess width of the sidewalks and things like that.... Perhaps the most interesting scheme, to be completed this year, was the acquisition of the old factory property down at the river's bend. It was pretty dilapidated and the city picked it up for a song. The factory has been demolished and the site is being turned into a water-side park. They've planted new willows and, while they're hardly more than shoots, in a few years they'll be as big and lovely as the old willows that used to grow there fifty years ago.... A new Ubique is in the making.

Ask any one of the building development people who, since the planner arrived, have been beating a pathway to his door. At long last, they've found somebody at the City Hall with sound and practical, as well as imaginative, ideas about land sub-division and land use. The old chop-up butcherman approach to land development is a thing of the past. New communities are in the making that with all their modernity are as pleasant and intimate in their symmetry and design as was the simple village community of an earlier era. . . . The ribbon strip developments leading out from the city are beginning to develop, slowly but surely, along more harmonious and more rational lines.

Meanwhile, too, Ubique has a scheme for redeveloping the old downtown section. It's planned as a combined undertaking by the civic authorities and private interests. A concert hall is to be erected on the site of some very ancient warehouses and back alley dwellings. A new apartment block is already under construction and plans for a large department store are well advanced. Property values are rising and the area already has a new look even though it will be years before some of the older structures are removed.

Best of all, a new confidence is abroad among the citizens. They feel that Ubique is going places, that its best days are ahead. Ubique now knows what it wants and it's out to get it. . . . It's amazing what a good planner and good planning can do for a town! Ubique, at long last, has found itself.

The moral of this little tale is simple: Planning is as much an essential requirement in a well organized community as are a police and fire department and an efficient garbage collection system. Cities and towns are living organisms. They can become infested with blight and they can be choked with congestion. Their orderly and symmetrical growth can be planned and directed or they can become stunted and cramped by neglect. . . . Town and city planning is an art and a science. It's more than plans; it is the fulfilled dreams of an imaginative practitioner trained and skilled in the ways of civic design. It is the physical framework wherein and whereby the functional and aesthetic needs of an urban community can be made to blend with and facilitate its growth and development and through which good urban living can find its finest expression.

HOW WE GOT INTO COMMUNITY PLANNING IN NEWFOUNDLAND

by Sir Brian Dunfield*

St. John's, Newfoundland has now had a permanent professional planning officer for about two years.

The late Mayor W. G. Gosling, who was responsible for the new basic Municipal Act of 1921, made provision in that Act for a permanent Town Planning Commission, which was to consist of six persons appointed by the Governor in Council. Its function was of a generalized nature: to study the lands and roads in the City and for a mile outside, and to make recommendations annually, or otherwise, as might be directed by the Council, for the improvement and extension of existing streets, opening of new streets, creation of fire-breaks, parks and playgrounds, laying out of building lands, planting of trees, and generally for beautifying the City and providing for its future expansion. This Commission was not formed immediately; but from 1930 to 1935 it functioned, under the Chairmanship of the late Hon. Mr. Justice Kent, of the Supreme Court. It consisted entirely of citizens outside the Council. It was obviously not thought of as a body for dealing with day-to-day problems. It made a few major recommendations, mainly as to street changes; but these foundered, as a rule, on the rock of lack of money. It cannot be said that much remains to show for its work during that period.

The Commission of Enquiry on Housing and Town Planning 1942-44 recommended the revival of this body; and it was reconstituted in 1944, again with a Supreme Court Judge as Chairman, the City Clerk and City Engineer being now included. As reconstituted, the Commission has continued to operate ever since, usually meeting, until recently, at the suggestion of the City Engineer. This was the Commission's only connection with the day-to-day administration and the results were not entirely satisfactory.

After Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation began to operate in Newfoundland. St. John's was not at that time in a position to contribute funds towards building operations; and they were therefore handled and financed by a Federal-Provincial partnership. In effect, the Provincial Government found itself compelled, by its own enthusiasm for housing, not merely to help finance, but also to devise and plan the operations. It was realized that really, in the case of St. John's, the City should devise, demand and plan, so that the Government could confine itself to financing; but at a conference among the heads of the various bodies interested, while this position was accepted, the City, which was still rather hard up, said it had neither the staff nor the means to do the work. The then Minister of Municipal Affairs, however, indicated that if the City would take the necessary steps, the Government would finance these for a year or two.

The way being thus cleared, the Town Planning Commission set about finding a Planning Officer, without, frankly, the least idea of how to do so. It was just lucky. (We know much more about it now, and where to advertise). Letters were written to what seemed to be likely Canadian sources, with little result; but Dr. Faludi, of Toronto, was good enough to forward two or three names which had come to his notice as a result of enquiries from England as to Canadian posts. Correspondence with these men elicited particulars, and on paper, the search concentrated on one man. Then arose the question of interview, to deal with the all-important question of personality. We had no channels, and no money to send a delegation to pick one man; but fortunately someone had a brother-in-law in England who was a Captain, R.N. (retired) and who had been in Newfoundland. It was felt that Captains R.N. were not uncommonly experienced judges of men. The Captain obliged and reported that the appointee looked very promising to him. Accordingly, we appointed, by mail, Mr. Stanley H. Pickett (Associate Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors), who was at that time assistant to the County Planning Officer for Somerset, and stationed at Weston-super-Mare. He was about 30 years of age, and had been practically engaged in the planning profession since school days, with a break for service as an Engineer Officer in the Far East during the War.

On arrival in May 1952, Mr. Pickett had, after finding his feet a little on unfamiliar soil, to start practically

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from the ground up. We had a fairly good, though not too accurate, contoured plan of Central St. John's; and the new area to the North, expropriated, serviced and built upon by the St. John's Housing Corporation between 1944 and 1949, had been well planned as a thousand-acre block by Messrs. Searles and Meschino, Ltd., the Corporation's Engineers. We had no plans at all of the one-mile external area over which the City had a limited jurisdiction; we had only the beginnings of a zoning system, and also one in the Churchill Park area operated by the Housing Corporation; in fact, we had next to nothing on which to work. We had no doctrine about, nor expert knowledge of, subdivision. All problems were settled *ad hoc*.

One is glad to be able to say that the new system has been a marked success. The City Planning Officer is now recognized in the Municipal Act and stands in relative rank with the City Clerk and City Engineer. Behind him, for consultation and moral support, stands the Town Planning Commission. He has an office in the City Hall, and all problems of a planning character are referred to him. The Town Planning Commission meets at his suggestion with relative frequency, considers problems arising from day to day, and makes its recommendations through him to the Council, which rarely dissents seriously from them. Meantime, apart from day-to-day routine, with which the Town Planning Commission is now in full contact, the Planning Officer is gradually working up a development plan of the one-mile area outside the City, based at the outset on an air-photo mosaic made a couple of years ago, which will, of course, be supplemented by ground survey as requisite. A scheme has been prepared for the rehabilitation of our central slum area, an eye-sore for generations; and a project for the redevelopment of a portion of it with Central Mortgage assistance is likely to take effect this year (1954). Traffic situations throughout the City have been considered. External communications are under review. Sub-divisions are supervised with care. In short, we now consider the planning situation well under control; and, given four or five years of development, we hope to have a really well-planned community.

This is the more necessary as the growth of the City has been phenomenal; since 1942 we have added about a third to our area, and about 35% to our total housing; while the improvement in quality and amenity has been equally striking.

The Planning Officer has been lent several times to the Government to look over lesser municipalities in need of planning; and out of this a new scheme has grown. In 1953 the Provincial Government passed an Urban and Rural Planning Act, under which a Municipality (other than St. John's, which looks after itself) can ask the Minister for a Town Plan. Several have already done so. We suggested to the Government that, with a view to saving expense and expediting activity, the City Planning Office be turned into a joint planning office for City and Government, with two more professional officers, the services of one of whom would be available at all times to each party. The idea was that this would save the Government money, that under Mr. Pickett's tuition new men would find their feet much more rapidly, and that in winter, when field work is not easy, the City would get extra help from the new men. Each authority was to pay half the costs of the joint office. The head of it would remain the City Planning Officer, of course.

This scheme was adopted; and in May 1954 our two new officers arrived from England. (Mr. J. T. Allston, lately employed in Hampshire and Somerset, England, and upon the Ordnance Survey; and Mr. R. Balston, A.R.I.B.A., lately in the service of the Derbyshire County Council.)

The arrangement may turn out to be temporary or permanent; but at any rate it has the advantage of getting rapidly into operation. With three professional officers we feel that the needs of this Island, not forgetting Goose Airport in Labrador, can be adequately served for the present. Our forty-odd "outport" municipalities, large and small, afford a fine field for pioneer work.

One feels, from experience as Chairman of the Town Planning Commission, that this can be said: the lay planning board or commission with the professional full-time officer at its elbow is infinitely more efficient than the lay planning board alone.

The Harbour at St. John's

A CITY MANAGER'S VIEW OF COMMUNITY PLANNING

by E. Royden Colter*

THE ramifications of city business today are certainly no less than those of private industry. Indeed, with the ever-present need to maintain democratic as well as efficient procedures, city business may be even more complex. Citizens demand more and better local government services while at the same time they demand lower taxes. To make matters worse, they do not always realize that to-day's dollar buys only about one half of what it bought a decade ago.

Inflationary trends have had a retarding effect on the progress of our cities. All city officials know that the costs of materials, supplies and services are at an all time high and that, failing to reduce such costs, some civic services must be curtailed. The problem is aggravated further not only by the fact that our overall Canadian population is increasing, but by the still more critical fact that an increasing proportion of people are tending to live in urban areas.

Of the three levels of Government—Federal, Provincial and Municipal—it is at the municipal level where all of these adverse factors have their most critical impact. At the municipal level, cries for more services to the public are heard most clearly. Nevertheless, it is the municipal facilities which are most circumscribed and frustrated in respect to financing.

Remedies for this crisis are being urged by the cities. The Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities has long tried to persuade the senior governments to allow municipal representation at a Federal-Provincial-Municipal Fiscal Conference in order to arrive at a realistic reallocation of services and revenues between the three levels of government. So far, these appeals from the cities have not been heeded, although we constantly hear members of the senior governments reminding us that "local government is the backbone of democracy".

Thus, in the face of critical necessity, cities and towns are compelled to take stock and to retrench. Within rigid financial limits they must create a maximum of efficiency. It is not surprising that, in the face of an almost catastrophic condition, they have become more conscious of the need for planning. Financial need, added to our increasing concern for good appearances and better living, is compelling us to prepare long-range plans.

Nowadays there are few citizens who do not realize that, for lack of planning, we have wasted our resources and suffered unnecessarily from unwholesome living conditions. We have learned much about how to weigh the general good of the community against the pressure of small groups. There is also an increasing realization to-day that the best technical skills are needed to plan the economical development of our communities. The taxpayer is learning to insist that the spending of his dollar is to be done in accordance with the best plans which scientifically trained specialists can devise. Before he allows his government to proceed with the widening or extending of streets; increasing the size or extent of water mains and sewers; building schools, fire halls, or police stations, he is likely nowadays to want to see how these installations will fit into a well-designed master plan. Even the busiest citizen today who has little time for civic affairs cannot help seeing the hundreds of object-lessons in planning or lack-of-planning which directly affect his pocket book.

A PAST PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Five years before I became administrative head of Saint John, the Common Council of that City had the vision to appoint a planning director who developed a comprehensive plan and acted as leader and coordinator in this important phase of government. Although the Council of that day as well as the planner received little credit from the majority of citizens, the results of their efforts are reflected in the many improvements which followed the planner's final report. This plan consisted of three separate stages: first the high-priority immediate projects; second, a five to ten year program; and third, projects beyond the ten year period.

This remarkable plan was of inestimable assistance to the city administration during my term of office, and I now think in terms of the physical improvements which the plan proposed and which are now a reality, notwithstanding strong opposition from reactionary sources.

* Mr. Colter is the City Manager of Sarnia, Ontario.

A CURRENT PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The City of Sarnia carried on a planning function until the latter part of 1953 through a planning board of twelve members and a part-time secretary whose office was located at the Chamber of Commerce building. Sarnia has doubled its population during the last decade and in 1951, by annexation, increased its area from approximately two thousand to eleven thousand acres. Of course the responsibilities of city government mounted equally, and the need for a full-time professional planning officer was realized by the city council.

The planning board did develop an official plan and its members gave unsparingly of their time. There is a new planning officer who will not only assemble information for revision of this plan, but prepare zoning regulations and draft by-laws for consideration of the board and city council. The planning director in Sarnia has already developed ideas and produced plans which have assisted in controlling future development, particularly as this relates to subdivision control and traffic. This planning will go a long way, not only from a physical standpoint but dollar-wise from the viewpoint of every taxpayer.

The department heads in Sarnia have regular scheduled meetings every second week. Thus the planner who meets with them is in the position of considering the views of all departments and their service responsibilities. In designing a capital budget, the first step should be to project the growth or decline of a community in future years. This projection must also consider the welfare aspects of future growth or decline of the community. Is it likely for example, to consist of an aging group of retired people or of a young group? The second step is to calculate the needs of the community in the way of capital improvements. Finally, the third step is to look at these planned improvements with a view to our ability to finance them.

CONCLUSIONS

The planning officer who produced tangible results in Saint John proved the value of a director of planning in every city. Such a need, however, appeared even more urgent in Sarnia which grew up over night, becoming a nationally-known industrial centre.

Finally, the five following reasons are given covering the need of direction in planning, a need which cannot be fulfilled without a trained qualified official.

(1) The interrelationship of all phases of urban life is being more and more recognized as a basis of study for the government and development of a community. In the past there has been no department directly responsible for such an undertaking: for example, to study the living habits, the working habits, play habits and travelling habits of the public. Such matters have been considered in part by different departments for particular needs, but not with a view to obtaining a clear and overall picture. This is a function of the planner.

(2) The growth of the city and the trends of that growth must be translated into the future and plans shaped accordingly, with necessary revisions as dictated by the constantly changing trends. This is also a function of the planner.

(3) No study can be undertaken without a mass of up-to-date reference material and information. While much of this information may be available from different sources and departments there is a need for a central clearing agency for its best use and for the correlation of it.

(4) While the city manager sees that there is co-ordination of plans and efforts within the various departments in the administration, there is no agency to co-ordinate the plans and efforts of the administration itself and outside agencies such as planning boards, school boards, park boards, health units, and public utilities. This is another function of the planner.

(5) Because of the ever-increasing complications arising from our way of living, the planning specialist is needed to act in an advisory capacity to the Council, to the City Manager and to all who are concerned in any way with these complications as they affect the administration of the city.

Development of our cities in the past has for the most part been haphazard—often from one emergency to the other. For the future, it is imperative that we develop a map showing the road ahead.

WHY WE HIRED A PLANNER

by W. N. McDonald*

A UNIVERSITY professor working up for his students a hypothetical municipality illustrating as many tough planning problems as possible could save time by taking a look at the District Municipality of West Vancouver. This is what he would find.

West Vancouver embraces 32 square miles along 16 miles of coast line westward from the entrance to Vancouver harbour and reaching up Hollyburn Ridge to a maximum elevation of 3,500 feet. In its early days it was mainly a resort of summer campers. Despite the rigours of commuting by ferry to the City in winter time through occasional storm and fog, it soon had a fair-sized population of year-round residents. Progressively larger ferries and a short bus service improved the commuters' lot so that in 25 years the population was over 7,000, most of whom lived along the waterfront and in the east end of the District.

Subdivision had been on the grid system with scant regard to the numerous mountain streams and rocky outcrops, and the flattest area within a few blocks of the ferry dock was sold off in 33-foot lots.

The picture changed in 1938 when *First Narrows Bridge Company* built Lions Gate suspension bridge from Stanley Park to the West Shore and provided a concrete highway through the park to the city. At the same time a sister company, *British Pacific Properties Ltd.*, commenced development of Capilano Estates, a beautifully contoured subdivision on the upper slopes, west of the Capilano River. Commuting time to the City was cut to 15 minutes; bus transit franchises were granted over the bridge to the municipality and to a private stage line. The invasion was on.

Briefly: in the past 10 years the population has doubled, the assessed valuation has tripled and the value of dwellings as shown by building permits has quadrupled. Here we have a cul-de-sac dormitory suburb, difficult and expensive to engineer and service, but by topography denied the possibility of industry to share the tax load. Close to 90% of tax revenue is derived from residential property. Recipe for a precarious situation, one would say. But the Council has taken advantage of the prosperous years to operate substantially on a pay-as-you-go basis and has held its debt to one-third of its statutory borrowing power.

Again the picture has changed. Two years ago the *Black Ball Steamship Lines* conceived a short cut from the mainland to Vancouver Island and the Sechelt Peninsula and chose Horseshoe Bay at the west end of the municipality as a ferry terminal. Very recently the Sechelt service has been extended to the City of Powell River. There is no road outlet from Powell River but there are 2,000 cars there and they can now make the round trip to Vancouver in a day—*through West Vancouver!* We are now a corridor municipality exclusive to an ever-growing hinterland.

Happily the Provincial Government has taken steps to relieve the traffic problem on our scenic but tortuous highway at water level by planning a new limited access arterial highway at the 600-foot level. Not so happily the same Government is at the same time preparing to extend the Pacific Great Eastern Railway from its tidewater terminal up coast at Squamish to a new terminal in Vancouver harbour—*through West Vancouver!* The rails will cut through our largest public park and skirt the waterfront in our highest value area. It is legally entitled to do this without reference to the municipality since it has retained title to the right-of-way abandoned 27 years ago.

Incidentally this is a Provincial Railway exempt from municipal taxes.

This brief outline of the most significant developments in the District offers the simplest answer to the question at the head of this article. An amateur with any knowledge of the headaches that accompany growing pains can understand with what trepidation we have regarded our predicted population. His question would be "Where is your planner?"

Let it not be thought that there has been little effort and interest in planning in West Vancouver. Far from it. Hard on the heels of the first Town Planning Act in B.C. in 1925, we had a Town Planning Commission and a Zoning By-Law. Occasional councillors and commissioners have been active in CPAC and have been well informed and valuable both locally and on the Regional Planning Board. Ten years ago the Council commissioned a Town Planning Report from an American firm of

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consultants and for a time, used it. Tentative long-term capital improvement plans have since from time to time been announced. Finally last year an economic survey was ordered to provide a base for a ten-year capital improvement plan that would stick.

Although reflecting on no individual, all these efforts and provisions have fallen short of the standing requirements for planning in a municipality. If I may presume to define these requirements I would say that they are (a) preparation of a town plan, progressively or as a whole by an authority and as a mandate; (b) implementation of the approved plans by by-laws and regulations under statutory authority; (c) continuous study and revision of the plans in the light of changing physical, economic and social influences; and (d) provision for the planning office to be included in the administrative organization of the municipality, serving and being served by every other department, providing a clearing house for the public and the officials, both elected and appointed, in all planning matters and constantly promoting the highest material and cultural values the local economy can provide.

There never has been a lack of good intentions planningwise in local government; but it seems to have proved impractical to have prepared and administered the complicated series of prescriptions required to keep the body politic in the best of health. The part-time, voluntary or ex-officio planner, however good, or any combination of such planners can scarcely hope to solve the situation completely. In recent years this has been realized by some of our larger cities who have set up planning departments headed by men trained and dedicated to the planning profession. Such men are scarce and, as mentioned in the old circus advertisements, had to be "imported at great expense for your entertainment". For this reason, smaller municipalities have been deterred from such aspirations although their need is proportionately as great. Some of these have turned to consultants, who for a fee have prescribed surgery and a new diet. Most of their advice was salutary, but experience has shown that often the patient had a relapse after the doctors' backs were turned.

These smaller municipalities would no doubt find that a good full-time resident planner, responsible to his Council and sensitive to the highest needs of his neighbours and colleagues, is worth more in the long run than any visiting team. Such I believe to be the sentiment of the city fathers and the enlightened public in West Vancouver.

Fortunately there is a live interest in the University of British Columbia. Last year its planning school, under the devoted and exacting direction of Professor Oberlander, turned out its first four graduates. This was also timely, for Vancouver immediately enlisted two of the four in its Planning Department just organized under Mr. Sutton Brown; one was engaged by West Vancouver; and one is in private practice with a local firm of landscape architects. There was a hint, when we appointed Mr. W. P. Paterson as our permanent planning officer, that for a small municipality we were over-ambitious if not presumptuous. Our Council did not see how we could be over-ambitious in giving planning its rightful weight in the municipal administration and acted quickly when the right man appeared. It is interesting to note that other municipalities in this area are contemplating similar action.

We hired a planner to plan with us, not just for us; to plan constantly for a continuing purpose and not to a deadline for a publication; and to be part and parcel of our municipal administration rather than an itinerant medicine man. Any regret we may have is that we could not have had one sooner.

HORSESHOE BAY, terminal of Marine Drive and the projected Upper Level Highway.

Photo: Bruce Moss

THE UNIVERSITIES AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

by Humphrey Carver*

It would be only a slight exaggeration to say that Canada, at the end of the war, embarked upon its immense urban expansion without the benefit of people trained and experienced in community planning. Only four cities had permanent planning officials, and these had no jurisdiction over the growing suburbs. Only a handful of people offered their services as consultants. The Universities had no arrangements for training planners, and there were no staffs of any size where new recruits could gain practical experience.

Little trace remained of the early flurry of interest in town planning which had followed World War I. This interest had been deflated by the depression of the Thirties and forgotten in the urgencies of World War II, leaving behind only a handful of experienced and rather disappointed people. The Planning legislation in the provincial statutes bore the imprint of the earlier period when Thomas Adams, before he started on his international career, had been employed by the Canadian government as a kind of planning missionary from England. Meanwhile, in Britain the whole social and economic approach to "town and country planning" had been reoriented by the experience of the Thirties and by an eagerness for post-war reconstruction. In the United States there had been wide experience and experiments in planning through the New Deal period. In both countries town planning had come to be publicly accepted; there were established University schools for training planners and a professional status had been consolidated.

None of this advance had been reflected in Canada. Our new era of city building was approached with more vigour than vision, more skills in operating bulldozers than in designing a new urban landscape. The prospect was limited to an infinite extension of rectangular subdivisions and streets.

That Canada would need to train planners for a period of rapid growth was not entirely unforeseen. In 1917, Thomas Adams had observed that "In our Universities we want to see an awakening to a more vital interest in civic problems and in the science of land development".[1] In 1944, the Curtis Committee reported: "One of the most serious practical considerations for the future of town planning is the dire shortage of adequately trained and experienced persons. This is due to the lack of training courses, and of governmental positions in which town planning has been practiced. There has been no inducement to universities . . . to set up . . . courses, nor to individuals with a taste for the subject to equip themselves professionally or to seek practice".[2]

COMMUNITY PLANNING COURSES AT CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

The situation is now slowly on its way to being repaired. McGill was the first University to offer a course in community planning, following the appointment of Professor Harold Spence-Sales who had both teaching and administrative experience of planning in England. In 1947, three graduate students were enrolled, aided by scholarship funds provided by the City of Montreal, the Province of Quebec and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Since 1947, about 28 students from a number of different faculties have benefited from this post-graduate training at McGill.

In 1949 the University of Manitoba offered a degree of M.A. in Community Planning, available to graduates in Engineering and Architecture. Professor V. J. Kostka, who had been trained in Europe and in England, was placed in charge of this one-year graduate course through which about 15 students have now passed.

In 1950, the University of British Columbia also established a graduate course which now requires two years for completion and is recognised by an M.A. degree. This course is under the direction of Professor Peter Oberlander, a graduate of the City Planning course at Harvard University.

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[1] Thomas Adams, *Rural Planning and Development*, Canada, Commission of Conservation, 1917, p. 241.

[2] Report, Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, *Housing and Community Planning*, Final Report of the Subcommittee, March 24, 1944, p. 181 (Curtis Report).

In 1951, the University of Toronto offered a course in community planning under the direction of Miss Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, formerly director of the School of Planning and Regional Reconstruction in London, England. This course was suspended in 1954.

As the result of these University courses about 40 people have received training and subsequently been employed in some kind of planning work. About one-third of this number are on the staffs of municipalities, about one-third are with provincial governments and the remaining third are divided between departments of the federal government and private practices. On the whole, there have been remarkably few who have taken the courses and not subsequently been absorbed into planning work, though such wastage is to be expected in any form of specialised training. Of all the students who have taken the planning courses, 39 have been supported by fellowships provided by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Only 6 of this number have been lost to planning.[3]

While these courses have been in the process of development, there has also been a revival of the Town Planning Institute of Canada as a professional body comparable with the American Institute of Planners and the British Town Planning Institute. It is obviously desirable that those who make a career in planning should be embodied in a fraternal organisation for mutual support through the sharing of experiences and the recognition of professional standards and practices.

WHAT IS A PLANNER?

The early development of any new professional group quite naturally arouses certain fundamental and sceptical questions. What is a planner? Is there any body of doctrine and techniques for community planning that can be effectively taught? Is planning really a disciplined art and science, distinct from architecture, engineering and municipal administration? Are planners all supposed to be universally competent both to do design work (site-planning, subdivisions, etc.) and to administer by-laws (zoning and other forms of control)? The same sort of questioning has occurred in trying to define the legitimate professional territories of social work, psychiatry and other new specialised pursuits required by our complex urban civilisation. The best answer to most of these questions is: "At present, we don't know". It is more valuable to concentrate on the central core of work that needs to be done than to dispute the limits of a new professional field.

Although each one of the Canadian planning courses had emanated from a School of Architecture, it has been recognised that people with many different kinds of undergraduate training can make a useful contribution in planning. In fact, the courses at McGill and Toronto have provided that students from a number of different faculties join together in their study of planning but each completes his graduation in the particular faculty to which he belongs. The little group of planning students may thus consist of architects, geographers, social workers, economists, engineers. Within the span of only a year or 18 months required to obtain an M.A. degree, it is obviously not possible to equip all of such a mixed company with the same universal competence to be employed on all kinds of planning work. But experience has shown that there is a great variety of work within the whole broad field of physical planning, and graduates from each of these different backgrounds have, in fact, found useful employment.

There has been much controversy over the general and specialised education that a planner should possess. The report of a committee set up by the British Ministry of Town and Country Planning in 1950 (the "Schuster Report")[4] provides a fascinating treatment of this question. This Committee was particularly attracted by the proposals of Professor Gordon Stephenson, Director of the School of Civic Design at Liverpool University, the institution which has had, perhaps, the largest and most successful experience in planning education. He outlined a system of courses in which provision is made for three classes of students:

(1) those concerned with the science of enquiry;
(2) those concerned with the art of creative design;
(3) those concerned with the system of administration.

It was recognised that much planning work and many planning positions are essentially analytical or administrative in character and do not require a design skill, derived from a training in architecture or engineering. But the Schuster Committee concluded that a responsible planning official needs an expert qualification in the sense that he must be able to appreciate good design and also to understand and to co-ordinate the work of technically qualified staff.

A somewhat similar view is expressed in a recent comprehensive study of planning education in American Universities conducted by Professor Frederick J. Adams of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

[3]Record of subsequent employment of those who have received fellowships:

In Planning Occupations		"Wastage"	
Federal government	5	Ill health, etc.	3
Provincial governments	7	Planning in U.S.	1
Municipalities	5	To External Affairs	1
Private practice	4	To Dept. of Finance	1
Teaching	2		6
	23		
Completing training	10	TOTAL	39

[4]*Report of the Committee on Qualifications of Planners.* Ministry of Town and Country Planning and Department of Health for Scotland, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950.

"Perhaps the most controversial subject in the field of planning education today", he reports, "is the place in the curriculum of civic design, in its three-dimensional sense. In courses dealing with regional and resource planning of large geographical areas the problem is less acute, though by no means non-existent; but in comprehensive studies looking to new forms of urban and metropolitan development it is critical. The need for closer coordination of the physical, economic, and social elements of urban development has already been stressed in this report and the position has been taken that while all planners need not be highly skilled in the art of three-dimensional design (provided they are sensitive to its values) there is an increasing demand for urban designers, especially in connection with urban redevelopment programs. However, creative minds are not found only in the physical design disciplines, and professional programs of planning should recognize the fact that today the student and the practitioner who enters the planning field from one of the social sciences can be accorded equal status with that of the planning designer and the planning engineer, and his contribution to sound community planning is just as fundamental".[5]

THE PLACE OF DESIGN IN EDUCATION FOR PLANNING

In basing its planning courses on Schools of Architecture, Canada has followed the experience of both Britain and the United States. There are now twenty established University planning courses in the United States, all but two of which are linked with schools of Architecture or Landscape Architecture. The designing of towns has so much in common with the designing of buildings that it is not difficult for architectural schools to extend their teaching arrangements in this direction. Within the framework of University organisation there is, in fact, no other place in which an understanding of design principles can be given to those who enter planning courses without any previous training in design. It is doubtful whether an effective planning course could be developed in a University which does not have a School of Architecture.

To what extent emphasis should be placed on design in community planning education and practice will always remain a matter of argument. The ultimate objective of town planning is the accomplishment of a fine physical design of the environment in which our society lives and works. But, on the way to achieving this design there must be many long procedures to direct the multitude of economic forces and to reconcile the conflicting rights of private property. Unfortunately these procedures sometimes obscure the ultimate objective. (Zoning for instance very easily becomes the principal preoccupation of planners and it is forgotten that this is, after all, only a method of achieving an objective and is not an objective itself.) To this confusions of means and ends the architect-designer is able to bring some clarification of thinking because he is trained to visualise and strive for the final physical accomplishment. It is no reflection upon the great contributions to planning made by economists, sociologists, administrators and lawyers to say that the ultimate inspiration has always come from designers. In order to visualise and comprehend the kind of cities in which we want to live, we must still turn to the great masters of town design: to Raymond Unwin, Stein and le Corbusier. It is therefore advisable to associate a planning course with a School of Architecture which is concerned with physical design, rather than with any University department which is concerned primarily with certain methods of achieving design.

That this is not just an academic issue can be seen, for instance, in relation with the subject of residential land subdivision—one of the major occupations of anyone in the planning business. From the point of view of the engineer, the surveyor, the lawyer and the administrator, there are obvious advantages in perpetuating the rectangular grid of blocks and lots. It is the simplest plan to set out and to service. But this kind of plan is now universally rejected for design reasons, and all those involved in the planning and control of subdivision are required to exercise their judgement on design factors. It is now apparent that the ultimate objective is not the convenience of the engineer, administrator and land speculator. The aim is to provide a setting for groups of houses in pleasant relationship with one another as a basis for family and neighbourly life. To perceive the three-dimensional effect of buildings in the landscape requires some understanding of design.

While an understanding of design is part of the essential equipment of a community planner, no less important is an understanding of the functions of government. Universities are becoming more aware of this as a subject of serious academic study because the whole structure of Canadian government is still taking shape to deal with the complexities of an urbanised society. The planning of urban areas involves an intimate relationship with the agencies of municipal, provincial and federal governments and an understanding of their procedures and relationship with one another. A University which is able to provide teaching in this subject has special advantages in training community planners.

THE UNIVERSITIES AS CENTRES FOR TEACHING AND RESEARCH

As the development of the University courses was being promoted, a critical question was raised: "Is it advisable to set up such courses at a number of Universities, no one of which can expect to attract more than a

[5]Frederick J. Adams, *Urban Planning Education in the United States.* A Project of The Alfred Bettman Foundation, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1954, p. 23.

handful of students each year? Would it not be better to develop one really strong teaching organisation at a single University which, with a larger number of students, could afford more staff and equipment?" This question was first raised at a Conference conducted at McGill in December 1946 to discuss the prospects of University education for planning. It arose again when the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation had under consideration the granting of fellowships and other forms of financial assistance to support the training of planners—a form of aid made possible by the terms of Part V of the National Housing Act.

It is probably true that the task of training an adequate corps of Canadian planners would be greatly expedited if this could be done at one place and in a course which could immediately be raised to a status comparable with the established schools of planning in the United States and Britain. But, apart from the obvious difficulty of determining which University might have the best claim to educate planners, there are also strong arguments in favour of decentralising this task. The existence of several small centres for teaching and research in community planning may bring considerable benefits to the immediately surrounding communities. We inhabit a sub-continent in which the urban problems of New Brunswick differ greatly from those of Alberta and the tremendous growth of Quebec towns presents problems quite different from those of British Columbia. There is consequently some value to be attached to a diversity of approach to a subject which is still at an exploratory stage. In both research and teaching methods there is much to be gained from decentralisation.

In addition to the academic curriculum provided for teaching the history, objectives, techniques and practice of community planning, a University department concerned with planning has an opportunity for direct contact with local affairs. Both staff and students need to work in a realistic, lively atmosphere, using the communities around them as the laboratory for research and the testing of ideas and methods. In a report to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in 1949, Professor John R. Parker, Director of the Department of City and Regional Planning, the University of North Carolina, made this observation:

> "In most professional schools it is essential that faculty be given time for practice, and this is especially important in planning. The chances are that most faculty members associated with the planning program will be young men, and that they will have had their training and experience in another country. It goes without saying that Canada's planning schools, if they are to justify their existence, must be oriented around Canadian problems and potentialities. This points to the need for providing time now and in the future for the professor of planning to carry on a limited practice of his own.
>
> "Planning faculties also have a responsibility for stimulating planning activity within their region which will result in job opportunities for their graduates."[6]

A University which provides a centre for teaching and research in community planning can fulfil a valuable role in its region. The teaching of graduate students is only a part of that function. The professor of planning should be available to help in the citizen educational program on which so much of the success of community planning depends. He should be in close association with the provincial planning officials whose task is very largely an educational one, helping to guide the planning programs of municipalities and identifying the policies to be followed. There are obvious advantages in assigning essentially educational functions to an educator rather than relying entirely upon the administrative staff of a provincial department. In Britain a great deal of the advance in urban planning must be attributed to those who have occupied the senior professorial positions, such as Sir Patrick Abercrombie, Sir William Holford, Gordon Stephenson and others. They have been the articulate spokesmen, free to conceive new ideas and to express views that cannot easily be pronounced by municipal and government officials.

As centres of research, too, the Universities can be most useful in each region. The planning staffs of provincial governments and municipalities have to limit their investigations to the immediate tasks in hand, their budgets normally only providing for "operational" research and enquiries. But the mature development of community planning as a social science depends upon pure research in the academic sense. Basic assumptions need to be re-examined. Fragments of information need to be built into a structure of knowledge. Isolated aims need to be built into a body of doctrine.

Already the Universities have done useful research work. For instance one of the basic assumptions inherited from the post-World War I period was that planning should be conducted by advisory planning boards, separate from the structure of municipal government. Professor Spence-Sales' studies of planning legislation and practice in Canada have questioned this assumption and led to statutory amendments in two provinces and the installation of more effective planning departments in at least three major cities.[7] At the University of Toronto, since research was done for the Bruce Report of 1934, there has been a sequence of work on the subject of slum-clearance and low-rental housing; the Regent Park project now provides a laboratory in which to build up knowledge of this important

[6]John A. Parker, *Planning Education in Canada, Problems and Prospects, a Report to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.* 1950, p. 31.

[7]For a discussion of this subject see COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, Vol. II, No. 1, February 1952.

aspect of community planning. Studies of the urban areas of Quebec and British Columbia now in progress may provide a wider perspective of the needs for effective planning in smaller communities.

Probably the most critical task of research and education that challenges the fraternity of community planners is in relationship with the great sprawling urban regions of Montreal and Toronto. In these two urban regions live three million people caught in a tidal wave of urban expansion far greater in scale than anything Canada has previously experienced. The tidal forces have overwhelmed the whole framework of local government and, with unspent energy, are tearing up and consuming the landscape over hundreds of square miles. Even the new metropolitan government of Toronto covers but a fraction of the territory being urbanised in that region, and in neither the Toronto nor the Montreal area is there the semblance of a planning organisation that can deal with this phenomenon. There is at present no conception of how to deal with this situation of such tremendous significance to the future of Canada. Perhaps the conception could most easily emerge from the kind of scholarly and penetrating study that can be carried out within the atmosphere of a University.

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND THE HUMANITIES

Having dealt at some length with what the Universities could do for community planning, perhaps one may offer some suggestions as to what community planning can do for the Universities—though this may be a rather impertinent venture on the part of one who holds no University rank.

In its actual application community planning is essentially what University people refer to as "interdisciplinary". It is a means of coordinating the multitude of economic, social and material forces out of which the physical fabric of towns is created. It is essentially concerned with directing these forces towards the realisation of a great design for living. Within a University any teaching and research in the field of community planning must likewise call upon the interests of many different faculties. This has particularly proved to be the case at McGill and the University of British Columbia where research work has been conducted through the cooperation of staff from the faculties of architecture, geography, political science, economics and social work. A mutual interest in the objectives of community planning has been discovered. This is the common territory for the Arts and Sciences, for engineers and philosophers, for social scientists and designers. For all are ultimately concerned with the way in which the material resources of Canada can enrich our spiritual life.

It has been said that Universities are threatened by the demand for more and more specialised technical and professional training. Some educationalists deplore the multiplication of technical courses and the pressure exerted on a University to abdicate from its position as a seat of higher learning on which the humanities are enthroned. It is true that a course in community planning is yet another segment of professional training. But it is peculiar in that its effect is to link other faculties together rather than to separate from them. This is surely a healthy influence. Engineering and architecture must join with the social sciences and arts in bringing a new humanism into our bleak and mechanised industrial cities.

The immediate and specific need for University courses in community planning is to prepare trained people for employment on the staffs of provincial and municipal governments. It is predicted that there will be a continued vigorous growth of urban areas, perhaps reaching a climax in the decade 1965-1975 when the post-war crop of babies reaches marriageable age and there will be an unprecedented demand for housing. But apart from the contribution which Universities can make through the training of technical staff to direct the processes of urban growth, there is surely a further purpose involved. There is a need to reconsider the whole fashion in which our immense physical resources and technical skills are being used to build fine cities for the enjoyment and health of future generations. At present we are failing rather dismally in this task and we must look to the Universities to educate a generation which has a more mature view of the relationship between the humanities, the arts and the sciences.

PLANNING ADMINISTRATION

by G. Sutton Brown*

CERTAIN popular misconceptions of city planning die hard. Some people believe that a planning organization has only to wave a wand to rectify deep rooted faults in a town or city which has lacked any forward-thinking policy for many years. Other people regard the planners as living in an ivory tower producing grandiose schemes which are totally impractical or, by their execution, would ruin the local government exchequer. There may be good reasons for these beliefs which have become established over the years, and it may be the planner's fault as much as anyone's that these misconceptions have arisen.

In the circumstances, it would be wise to examine, if only briefly, the functions of planning, before going on to discuss administrative arrangements and the organization of a planning department. We could then test any administration against the functions it would perform; decide whether it will enable the planning processes to operate efficiently with value for money received; see that it avoids departmental duplications and misunderstandings and, at the same time, allows full scope for the exercise of initiative.

THE PLANNING FUNCTION

It is usual to define the first function of a planning organization as the preparation of a plan for the future improvement and development of a region, metropolitan area or city. Such a plan would include physical developments such as public improvements, highways, parks, schools, public buildings and so on. In addition such a plan would make a detailed examination to ensure that everything is being done to improve economic conditions and to meet the needs of the city. The plan would define the future use of land so that private development could be undertaken in the most efficient and orderly manner. Finally, the plan would include certain surgical operations which would cut away existing examples of inefficient, obsolete and blighted development so that healthy new growth could take place.

We have learned by experience over the years of the type of plan which pays dividends. The days are gone when grandiose schemes were prepared on paper which found themselves on the way to the wastepaper basket as soon as they were subjected to the tests or pressures of practicability and financing.

Today new techniques are apparent. To begin with, surveys of existing conditions and trends and the gathering together of basic data are an essential first step before any planning is commenced. In fact this initial survey stage is likely to take more time under modern processes than the preparation of the plan itself. Plans are based today on detailed analyses of all factors which should lead to proposals designed to meet the several problems of city development in the best possible manner—physical, economic, sociological and from the point of view of general amenity and appearance.

The plan sets limited objectives in relation to time. It is recognized that however skillful the analysis of future trends, a plan designed to meet long-term objectives is likely to increase in error as the length of term for the plan increases. This may be obvious, but it was consistently ignored in the preparation of master plans several years ago. Today it is unusual to look beyond 20 years in the preparation of a development plan and it is recognized that such a plan should be reviewed at five-year intervals. A modern development plan is also firmly based on the ability of the local authority to pay for the improvements which it contains. It is a waste of time and misleading to the public to include in such a plan grandiose projects which have no chance whatever of being carried out.

Finally, it has at last been realized that planning is a continuing process. It is usual therefore in a plan to incorporate a program of works which might be in some detail for the initial five years but would be drawn up fairly broadly for the remaining period. The preparation of the plan itself is the easiest step in the whole process. The difficult element is to bring about the improvements for which the plan provides, even when the plan is devised with all the safeguards which have been enumerated. Expediency, however short sighted it might be, has defeated again and again planning proposals of very considerable benefit to a city although such proposals have been proved to be sound and practical.

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There begins to emerge, therefore, in the preparation of a development plan, and in its functioning, the techniques and processes normally adopted by big business. In these days "private enterprise" would not dream of investing millions in an extensive capital program without the most exhaustive report by experts of every phase in that program, and a step-by-step analysis of its chances of financial success.

A large city is a more complex organism than privately-operated corporations with very few exceptions. Millions are being spent each year by public and private agencies in its development and maintenance. Few citizens are without a direct monetary stake in it. For example, the capital value of investments in the City of Vancouver today amounts to approximately $1,412,800,000. Last year about $70,000,000 was spent by the City and private enterprise in capital works. We would do well therefore to follow the practices of "private enterprise" and not leave the future of this large and delicately balanced machine to operate on "seat of the pants" decisions based on personal hunches rather than on factual analyses of the elements which should govern those decisions.

We should appreciate that the planner himself is well aware of his changing function and is being trained more and more to carry these increasingly severe responsibilities. However, both his own planning organization and the administrative processes through which it operates must be devised in such a way as to enable the planning function to operate. This examination which I have tried to make of the planning function must of necessity be brief and only a short exposition of a very complicated subject which probably has its major roots in our municipal government system. However, I hope it will be sufficient to enable the reader to conclude that the function of planning today comprises:

(a) the preparation of a development plan to promote and guide development of the region, urban area or city, the plan being based on a complete analysis of all existing factors and trends which should govern the formulation of its proposals;

(b) the division of the plan into the several components which will enable it to be carried out, including:

  (i) the adoption of certain broad but most important policies by municipal government and private enterprise, designed expressly for the future economic benefit and general well-being of the area. For example, such policy might be the encouragement of secondary industries to bring about a more balanced economic structure;

  (ii) the preparation and execution of a program of public works which over any short term period must fit into the overall objectives defined in the plan. Such a program would not only include the provision of necessary public facilities but would be designed to encourage and facilitate the processes of private investment and development;

  (iii) the issuing of by-laws to control private development in accordance with the plan but devised in such a way as not to constitute a form of "straight-jacket" which might succeed in preventing the very worst development but equally might prevent the best or tend to stifle the development of new forms and techniques in city development.

These executive processes are by no means the end and this should be very obvious from the very nature of the functions which have been described. In Great Britain a special governmental committee was established to examine the functions of planning as a preliminary to specifying the best training for the planning profession. This committee, in their analysis of the planning process, considered that the essential function was

> "to synthesize what might otherwise be a mere collection of separate policies and claims".

They said also that:

> "for a plan to be fully effective, administrative arrangements within the local planning authority's organization should be such as will permit this synthesized function to have full scope. And this function must be exercised not only on the first framing of the plan but throughout the whole process of its execution. Since it touches on and must in turn make use of so many existing services and interests, there is a risk . . . that planning may be regarded as primarily the preparation of a plan while the other aspects of the work are left to be pursued independently by other departments. If this is allowed to happen the value of planning may be lost."

Accordingly we find an extremely responsible view being expressed that the most essential factor of all in the planning function is the coordination of the several works and processes during the execution of the plan. The significance of such an opinion needs to be stressed since the administrative arrangements for planning should be organized in such a way as to bring about easily and efficiently the coordination of work between the several departments of the civic administration and even between the City Hall and other municipal agencies such as the Board of School Trustees and the Board of Park Commissioners.

ADMINISTRATION

In considering what should be the optimum arrangements for planning administration, it might be well to examine first this function of coordination or synthesis since it is probably the most difficult to achieve. In this connection, it might be worthwhile to have in mind what is happening elsewhere.

In Great Britain, the control of all local government functions is jealously guarded by local councils. There we find senior officers appointed by council and reporting directly to the appropriate committees who are largely responsible for transacting the business of the municipality. Technical aspects of planning, except in the large county councils, are usually the responsibility of the City Engineer or City Architect as an addition to his other duties. This arrangement has been the subject of much criticism, since planning does not then receive the undivided attention of the senior official. However, the planner operates in an atmosphere of mutual cooperation with his colleagues which is traditional to the British local government service and inculcated by many years of established custom. Although no special arrangements are devised to ensure coordination, the system (or lack of system) appears to operate successfully in many cases to a remarkable degree, particularly where the ability and personality of the planner is dominant. Nevertheless we must realize that the system is probably operating under ideal local government conditions with council retaining full autonomous power in respect of all local government functions.

In the United States, the situation would seem to be entirely different because of the tendency to set up separate committees or boards to administer certain municipal governmental functions. We often find divorced from the council such responsibilities as education, parks, housing, redevelopment, transportation, and many other important matters. It is difficult to generalize, of course, since there is a great number of variations between the several states and cities. However, it is almost universal to find the planning function exercized by a town planning commission with the commission planning for a variety of proposals often with little regard to the work of the other municipal governmental groups.

Under such an arrangement, not only is coordination basically more difficult because of the divided responsibilities, but the commission's work itself is in no way integrated with municipal government machinery. The planners are not unaware, of course, of the situation, and we find the commissions and their staffs struggling to surmount these conditions and to establish some sort of coordinating procedure.

Traditionally Canada operates somewhere between these two administrative arrangements. We find in the larger cities that planning is normally a municipal function, and the tendency is toward more planning by municipal government than planning by commission. Where commissions operate, their role is less executive and more advisory.

Vancouver is the third largest City in Canada and has been actively engaged in the planning field since 1926. Nevertheless, in one respect it has lagged behind other larger cities since it established its civic planning department less than two years ago, and that department has been fully operative for little more than 12 months.

Since it is one of the newest of the civic planning departments, it might be worthwhile to examine the form of administration which the city decided to adopt, since that decision was made comparatively recently in the knowledge of the changing functions of planning and with the experience of others in mind. The form of administration was established following a report to the City Council prepared by Professor Harold Spence-Sales and Professor John Bland of McGill University. With certain minor modifications in the light of experience, it appears to operate exceedingly well, and would seem to pass the tests which have been mentioned earlier.

Under this system a Technical Planning Board has been established comprising the eight senior departmental heads:

Director of Planning
City Comptroller
City Engineer
Corporation Counsel
Building Inspector
Supervisor, Lands and Rentals
Medical Health Officer
Superintendent, Board of School Trustees
Superintendent, Board of Park Commissioners.

The Director of Planning is Chairman of the Board, and the secretarial work is the responsibility of his Department.

The meetings of the Board are not held in public and the members thus are enabled without external pressures of any sort to thrash out on a realistic and factual basis the several problems concerning the development of the City upon which they have been required to report.

Their terms of reference are "to advise Council on the development plan for the City and to coordinate all matters relating to city development". In practice, however, the City Council have been sending to the Technical Planning Board an increasing number of problems of wide variety for their consideration and report. This increasing amount of work is perhaps a measure of their success.

It should be noted that the Technical Planning Board has representatives sent from the Board of School Trustees and the Board of Park Commissioners and forms, therefore, the major operative linkage between those independently elected and operated boards and the City Council.

It is customary for the Director of Planning to prepare his draft reports for the Board in close consultation with those officials who are directly concerned with the particular problem submitted to the Board. For example, a simple issue such as the location of a joint school and park site may involve, in addition to the officials of the School and Parks Boards, the City Engineer and the

Supervisor of Lands and Rentals. Although most of the technical and clerical work is carried out by the Planning Department, the other departments make significant contributions as the necessity arises.

Perhaps the classic example of the Technical Planning Board's work was the preparation of a five-year plan of capital works which was approved by the City Council in the Fall of 1953 and endorsed by the electors in a plebiscite in December, 1953. Under the terms of the Vancouver City Charter, the City Council is enabled to submit to the electorate a program of capital development for a period of not more than ten years. In this particular instance the Technical Planning Board, largely through the Planning Department, was in contact with every spending agency, such as the Airport Board, Police Commission, Fire Department, Library Board, Museum Committee, and General Hospital, in addition to the departments represented on the Board itself. This resulted in a program of works for which estimates were prepared or checked, sites provisionally chosen, and the whole generally processed by the Technical Planning Board. It is perhaps worthwhile noting as an example that the City Council, on the recommendation of the Board, decided to build a new central jail and other police facilities as part of the Five-Year Plan in preference to adaption of an existing structure, as originally decided. The consequential saving was some $15,000, with, of course, more modern accommodation.

In submitting their initial report to the City Council, the Technical Planning Board recommended a target figure of total expenditure which was very much below the total compiled from the initial departmental estimates. The City Council instructed the Board to submit a revised program totalling more closely to the target figure, and it was this final program which was accepted by Council with only minor amendments. The absolute cooperation received from all parties concerned, and the coordination of works which such a program represented, could be termed an acid test for the administrative arrangements which the Technical Planning Board represents.

This program will serve the City of Vancouver for a period of five years, by which time the overall development plan for the City should be completed. Accordingly, the next five-year program can be compiled having regard to the longer term objectives which the development plan will include.

Clearly there is considerable advantage to the City Council in receiving from a very experienced group of officials a factual report with an unbiased recommendation. It is perhaps equally important, however, that all development projects are designed on a cooperative basis and all officials concerned participate in a scheme from its earliest stages. Inevitably this must result in economy in devising solutions to current problems and in their execution. Furthermore it builds up a general spirit of departmental collaboration. It is not suggested that all recommendations of the Board have been acceptable to the City Council, but it does mean that decisions of Council are reached in the full knowledge of the several factors which should govern such decisions.

The Spence-Sales—John Bland report indicated that the establishment of a Technical Planning Board would free the Town Planning Commission from complicated technical and administrative matters so as to enable the Commission to concentrate on the broader policy issues. In this connection it is generally recognized that there is a tendency for a town planning commission to get involved too deeply in matters of technical and administrative detail, leaving them too little time for the consideration of the major planning problems.

At the present time the Vancouver Town Planning Commission consists of six ex-officio members representing the City Council and other important groups such as the National Harbours Board, the Board of School Trustees, the Board of Park Commissioners and the Sewerage Board. The remaining nine members are elected by the City Council from citizens with some experience and knowledge of planning matters. The change in the Town Planning Commission's role from an executive function to an advisory function led Messrs. Spence-Sales and John Bland to recommend that the Town Planning Commission be re-constituted so that the appointed members would be representative of the major citizen groups such as the Board of Trade, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Vancouver Council of Women, and The Trades and Labour Council.

It should be noted that the Town Planning Commission was one of the greatest protagonists for the establishment of a Civic Planning Department and approved in principle the recommendations of the consultants' report. With some 18 months' experience in the operation of the Technical Planning Board, the Commission have realized that their method of operating requires revision in the light of the changed circumstances; they have set up a sub-committee to consider this matter, and a report is expected shortly.

A planning organization, however able and efficient, needs the full support of public opinion in what it is trying to do. A commission organized as recommended in the consultants' report would have a most important role to play not merely in public relations but as the leaders in advising Council on major development policy and by promoting such policies among the more important citizen groups.

From the point of view of procedure, current arrangements reflect the new aligning. The City Council receives simultaneously with the report of the Technical Planning Board the Commission's views on its proposals. The Director of Planning acts as executive-engineer to the Commission and his Department provides for the necessary secretarial work.

I do not think that the importance of the Commission's role in planning administration can be over emphasized if they supply that vitally necessary leadership in promoting development which would be to the best advantage of the city as a whole. It should be borne in mind that the Technical Planning Board's function is strictly limited to advising Council on technical matters. Just as the Technical Planning Board acts as the general coordinating agency among the officials and provides Council with a factual basis for their decisions, so the Town Planning Commission could act as the coordinating agency for the organization of public opinion and should advise Council on policy aspects of the Board's proposals having regard to that opinion.

PLANNING ORGANIZATION

The building up of a planning organization of a sufficiently high calibre to tackle the several responsibilities which it will be called upon to undertake is by no means an easy task, even if the necessary skills are readily available. It is recognized that trained planning personnel are not easy to find.

Particularly in the preparation of the development plan, the ideal arrangement might be reached if the personnel of the Planning Department could change as the work proceeds because somewhat different skills are required at the different stages of the plan. For example, much of the Department's time is taken up in the beginning by the preparation of maps and the carrying out of the necessary basic surveys. For this work the technical level of personnel need not be so high (subject to the supervision of senior experienced staff being available), as in the later stages when the material is being processed. However, such a switch in personnel is not practical, consequently a Director of planning has the task of recruiting and maintaining a well balanced organization, able to undertake competently all varieties of planning work.

The calibre of the personnel should be well above average since the ability to think constructively and with originality must be present to a much greater degree than is necessary in a technical department concerned to a greater degree with routine matters. Thus a high level of technical qualification and ability is vitally important, and salaries should reflect that importance.

In Vancouver the Planning Department is organized into three main technical divisions as follows:

(a) Planning Administration
(b) General Land Use Planning and Design
(c) Highway and Traffic Design

This is illustrated in the Chart.

PLANNING ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

The main responsibilities of this Division are the administration of the zoning and subdivision by-laws, processing applications for re-zoning, the subdivision of city-owned land, and the clearance of city-owned property for sale. In addition, the head of the Division is Secretary and aide to the Zoning By-Law Board of Appeal.

The advantages of having this composition of work responsibilities is self-evident. In the day-to-day control of land development by private enterprise and by the City, one division of the Department is responsible for all the interlocking elements of land use. This leads to maximum efficiency, the minimum of delay to the public on any decisions required, and gives little opportunity for overlapping and duplication of work.

The Building Department, by arrangement, checks that proposed development is in accordance with the zoning by-law before issuing building permits. Nevertheless there is a constant liaison in connection with the more difficult cases between the Planning Department and the Building Department.

With this liaison, and from day-to-day enquiries received by the Division, it is possible for them to recognize instances where re-zoning might be warranted, or where it could more properly be regarded as a case for a relaxation of the By-law to be examined by the Board of Appeal. With the Division's responsibility for subdivision it is possible to control the development of property from the initial stages so that difficulty will not arise later.

GENERAL LAND USE PLANNING AND DESIGN DIVISION

This Division is divided into three sections according to the three fundamental technical skills inherent in the vast majority of civic planning work.

The Research Section is staffed by economists, although sociologists and geographers might be equally well qualified. The main concern of the Section is to use its knowledge and experience in statistical work to devise surveys which will disclose the essential information required at minimum cost. From their analysis of the survey material conclusions can be drawn in relation to a particular problem, prior to recommendations being made as to how these problems shall best be solved.

The main responsibilities of this section include population studies, economic analyses, and matters relating to industrial planning.

It has been found by experience that the research section can contribute most valuable work in connection with highway and traffic design problems. Their training on the analytical side, which would include origin and destination surveys, may be more appropriate than that of engineers whose major role comes later in connection with the design of the highways themselves.

The work of the Research Section is the foundation of most planning processes and is of fundamental im-

portance in the ultimate success of the Development Plan.

The Civic Design Section is staffed with architects who by training and aptitude are particularly suitable for the work involved. They are responsible for the design of major subdivisions, involving large areas of land where skill in lay-out is essential and architectural training desirable in order to obtain the best inter-relationship between sites and buildings.

This section is responsible for the planning of the downtown area, and handles such specialized problems as the design of the civic centre.

Since many problems relating to housing have been referred to the Technical Planning Board, this Section seems the most appropriate to deal with housing problems, including the re-development of blighted and obsolescent property.

However, the Section have a much wider role to play since they are concerned broadly with questions of amenity and the architectural appearance of buildings.

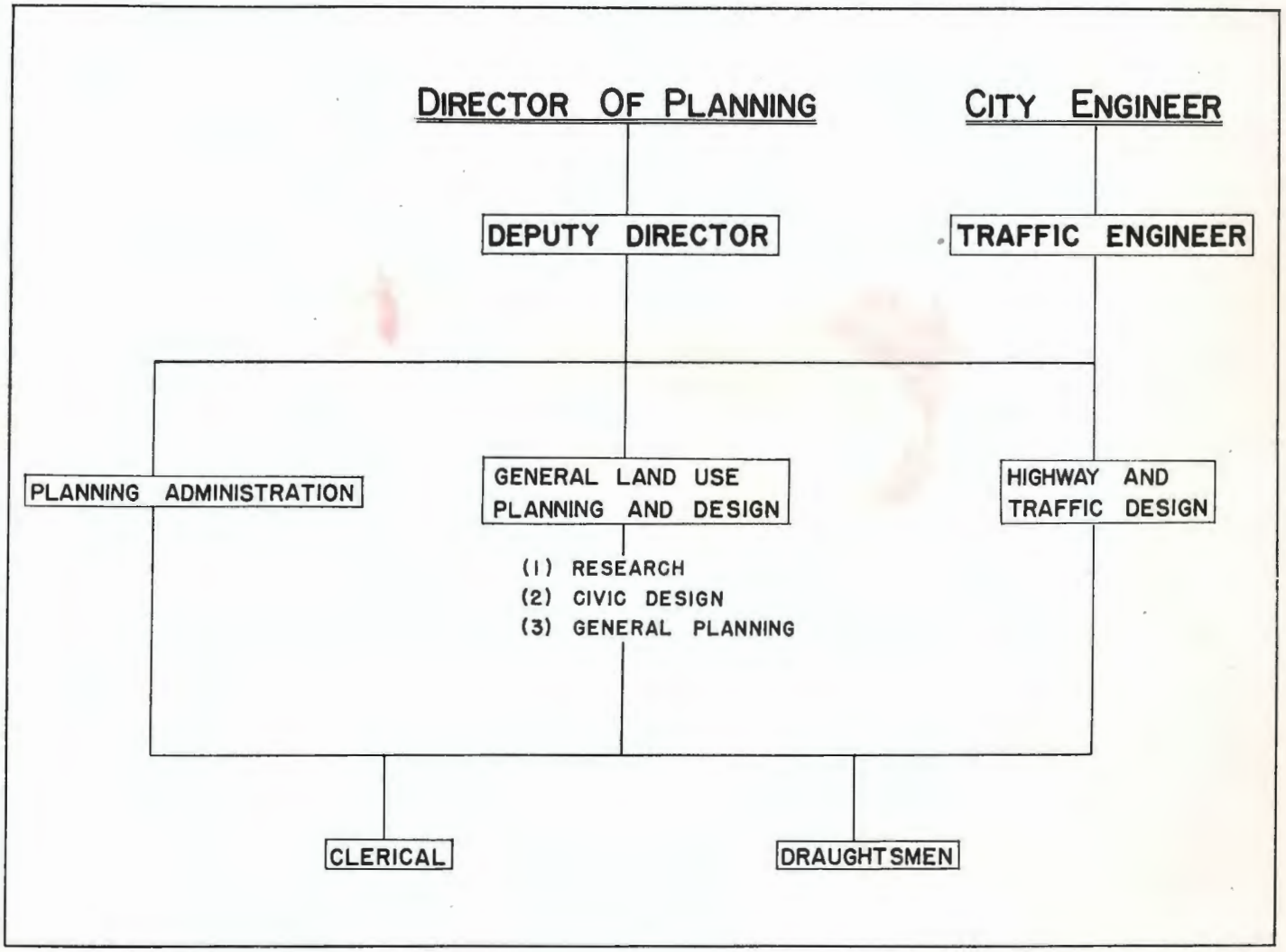
The General Planning Section is last in the list but by no means the least important. This section is concerned with the broad use of land which would comprise the definition of the major zones into which the City should be divided, the division of those zones into the more detailed constituent parts, and the drafting of the appropriate Zoning By-laws.

Their concern would be the standards of development which should apply in the several zones including density, and they would deal with particular matters such as the size and location of parks, schools and similar facilities.

Furthermore it would be their responsibility to examine rail transit and transportation problems.

From experience, qualification and training in engineering would be the most appropriate qualification for this section, and to them would automatically be referred questions involving engineering principles.

These three sections have been separated for convenience and because of their different qualifications.



However, the whole of their work is closely integrated. Furthermore, it is the responsibility of each section head to ensure that the necessary consultations have been carried out with all interested parties.

Finally, the Division acts as consultant to the Administrative Division whose numbers are small, and are not equipped to handle any major question which might come before them as the result of their day-to-day operations. The head of the Administrative Division is at liberty to call upon the General Planning and Design Division to assist him in any particular matter.

HIGHWAY AND TRAFFIC DESIGN DIVISION

It will be noted that the Highway and Traffic Design Division comes under the joint leadership of the City Engineer and the Director of Planning. This may appear unwieldy, but in practice it has operated extremely well and has been the means of ensuring that there is no duplication between the Engineering and Planning Departments. One member of this Division is located permanently in the Engineer's Traffic Division and is the means of ensuring close collaboration and that basic data in the possession of each department is available for the use of both. The practice was commended in a recent survey of the organization of the Engineering Department made by efficiency experts.

As stated elsewhere in this volume, Municipal Government Committees have been established for the metropolitan area to devise a metropolitan highway system which would meet the needs of the whole Lower Mainland area of British Columbia. The Highway and Traffic Design Division is responsible for much of the work which is being done for these committees in direct collaboration with the City Engineer's Traffic Division and other agencies.

The Planning Department is organized with a pool of draughtsmen and clerk-stenographers whose services are available to all Divisions. This ensures more flexible administration and provides the maximum output with minimum resources.

The number and diversity of day-to-day problems which the City Council pass to the Technical Planning Board for consideration and report, together with the main requirement of preparing a Development Plan, would make it impossible to make material progress with the planning staff available were it not for the administrative arrangements which have been discussed. The formation of the Planning Department as an essential element of the local government system, and the arrangements for coordination between Civic Departments which the Technical Planning Board automatically causes does ensure maximum output and no overlapping or duplication. If a particular planning problem involves engineering design or any other type of work for which another department is more appropriately organized, then there is no hesitation in asking for the necessary assistance and advice, and no hesitation in such advice or assistance being given. Thus the work and reports of the Technical Planning Board represent in their preparation the joint efforts of the appropriate officers and in their final recommendations the joint experience and ability of the whole Board.

This is a brief account of the planning processes which have been adopted for the City of Vancouver. Clearly the form of administration and organization will vary between municipalities according to their sizes and resources. The essential element, however, is that planning should be closely integrated with the Municipal Government Administration and should not be allowed to operate as a separate entity, insulated from the normal processes of local government. The other departments of the City should participate from the beginning in the formulation of planning proposals and the Director of Planning can organize his department more economically if he knows that he can call on the specialist help of his colleagues.

EDMONTON: PRACTICAL RESULTS OF PLANNING MEASURES SINCE 1950

by Noel Dant*

With its emergence as an oil centre and as reputedly the fastest-growing urban area on this continent, the Edmonton district has enjoyed a certain amount of national publicity for several years. In these circumstances, many people have asked us exactly what Edmonton has accomplished by Town Planning measures. (The Town Planning Department was organized as an integral function of the local government within the City administration late in 1949.)

Edmonton was the first City in Canada to adopt officially the interim development procedures of Town Planning, based on a modified form of the British system. This interim period is now almost complete; the General Development Plan for the City and its implementing by-law will be brought down to the City Council for official adoption next year.

Earlier articles[1] have attempted to show in detail the theory and process of interim development measures as adopted in Edmonton and with what success. This article will attempt a broad critical review of what has actually been accomplished in the field.

Activities so far, with a few notable exceptions, have been accomplished in keeping with what has been termed informally the "Evolving General Development Plan" pending its official adoption. The use of this phrase "Evolving General Development Plan" is noted possibly with amused tolerance by some planners; nonetheless, if the process of interim development measures is fully understood by the public, it becomes apparent that almost two-thirds of the Evolving General Plan has already been *officially adopted* by this City from time to time during the interim phase itself; and I know of no other system which so completely meets the problems of abnormally growing urban centres.

The general form that Edmonton's city structure exhibited in 1949 was little different from that of any other Canadian or American city of like size:

(a) gridiron street patterns of different sizes, with roads fizzling out where topographical irregularities were met, showing the complete lack of appreciation of the values and benefits of contour planning;

(b) the usual downtown concentration of land almost 100% covered with buildings—buildings mainly of only one or two storys—a prodigious waste of both land itself and real estate investment;

(c) central housing areas, once regarded as high-class, showing signs of strain over their proximity to a hemmed-in downtown area;

(d) further out, endless streets of gridiron-planned housing, with the odd intersection of so-called main highways festooned with local business at all four corners, with no parking facilities, and built up to the limits without regard to traffic safety;

(e) industry (like most land uses designed on a residential-sized lot basis peppering other uses) made possible by the usual fallacious zoning by-law[2] permitting uses of higher amenity in lower amenity zones;

(f) large empty areas of land which had somehow been hopped over by solid urban growth and were now hemmed in by it.

Circumscribing this unholy mess was the familiar fringe growth, both within and without City limits, almost killing permanently large tracts of ideal land from being put to their most beneficial uses. This common city pattern and its errors are all too familiar to us now.

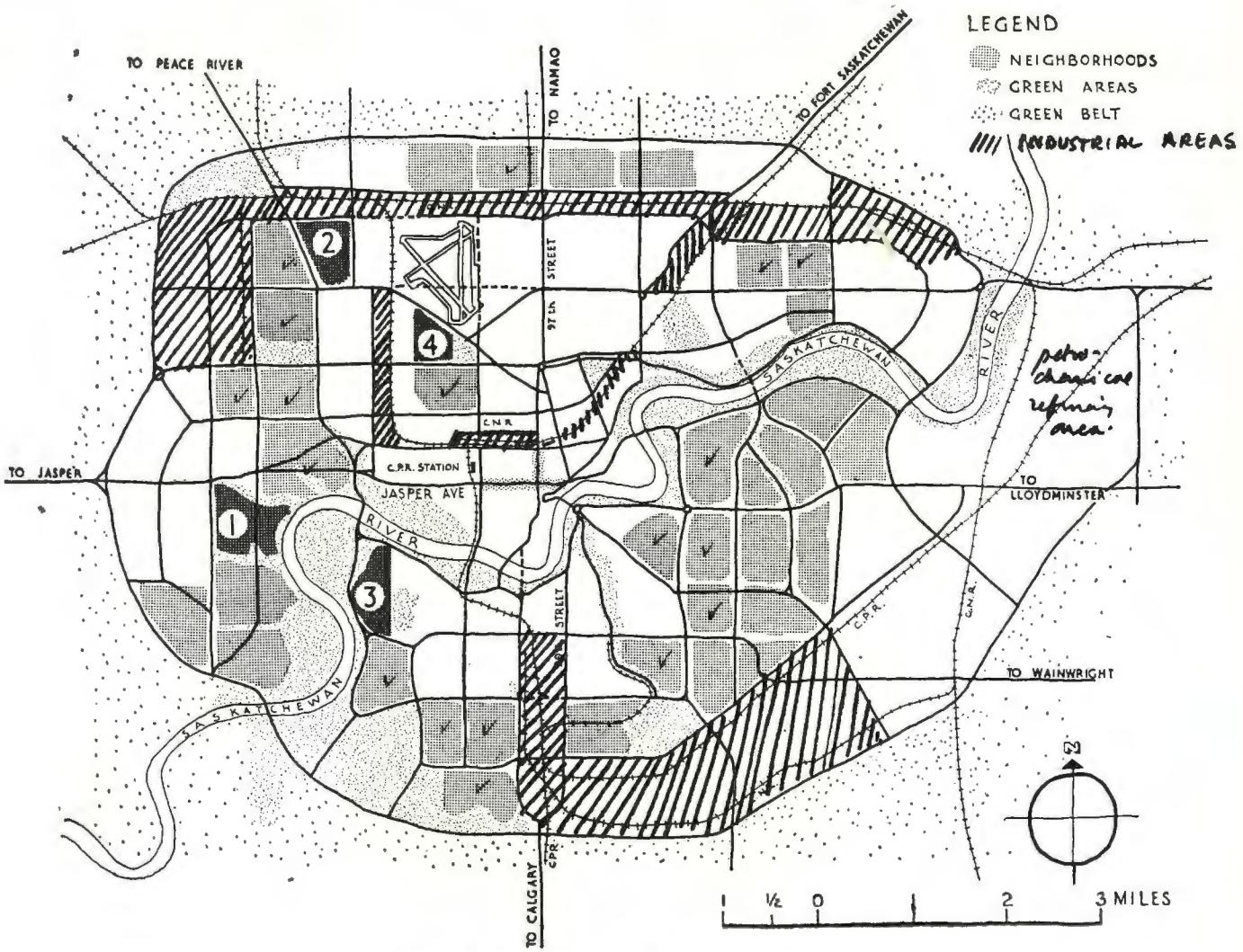
HOUSING

Apart from filling in blanks in the earlier gridiron housing areas on the fringe as it existed in 1949, the City almost immediately endorsed the idea of the neighbourhood unit principle; and in spite of some mild criticism by die-hards from time to time, including one or two aldermen, the Council has never swerved in its faith toward this enlightened form of residential environment.

* Mr. Dant is the Town Planner of the City of Edmonton.

[1] Three articles in *Western Construction and Building*: "*Edmonton Plans for the Future*", by H. R. Macdonald, Dec. 1951; "*Interim Development Control*", by Noel Dant, Nov. 1952, and "*How Edmonton Plans*", by Noel Dant, Dec. 1952.

[2] Suspended early in 1950.



The Evolving General Development Plan

Before 1949 was over, the first neighbourhood unit, Parkallen, was on paper, and as soon as the snows cleared next spring, construction was started.

Owing to certain pre-commitments regarding some utility lines, and some recent gridiron fringe growth which found itself just within the established limits of this neighbourhood unit; and also owing to the self-imposed policy of the Town Planner, that any radical planning measures would have to be introduced slowly to a young and lively public (albeit a public sworn to uphold dogmatically certain misconstrued beliefs regarding Edmonton's pre-eminence, such as, for one example, the street numbering system supposedly second to none in the world), the Parkallen Neighbourhood Unit as built was something of an experiment, something of a compromise with the proposed plan, and apparently something of a temporary enigma to certain eventual residents of the area, who occasionally phoned up our office to say they were lost and to ask how to get out again! Apparently some much-needed support for the neighbourhood unit principle at that time was quite accidentally gained when it was reported inaccurately in the local press that the Town Planner himself had got lost once in his self-made maze!

The Evolving General Development Plan as it stood a few months later indicated, after a comprehensive analysis of the total City area, that some 36 full neighbourhood units of approximately 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants each and some half-dozen sub-neighbourhood units of approximately 2,000 inhabitants each would be possible taking into account adequate land for other uses, if there was no let-up in population increase in the next 10-year period. By that time there would eventually be no undeveloped land left at all within existing City

STRATHEARN NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT, now completed according to model.

Ranson Photographers, Edmonton

limits. We had some apprehension regarding this continuing abnormal population increase, when it was discovered that a very small percent indeed of such annual increase was by way of natural increase; immigration (regional, national and international) provided the lion's share each year. The optimism of leading business men and others who looked upon oil and its implications as a never-ending fairy god-mother has apparently not as yet been misplaced in spite of the customary caution normally exhibited by City officialdom.

In the planning office, we knew that the housing backlog was huge and would take a long time to catch up, and we were so overburdened with work that we hardly had time to think about what would happen two years away. So we ran our Evolving General Plan at that time on pure faith, realizing that little could go wrong if we conscientiously filled up the immediate blanks on the current fringe with planned neighbourhood units on the cell basis as fast as we could design them and merely call the whole game off if the population influx suddenly showed a decided tendency to peter out. Happily for our reputation, and unhappily for our overburdened staff, such a trend seems to be as far away now as it was in 1949.

In 1950, a fair flood of neighbourhood units were designed, approved by the different civic bodies concerned and handed over to the surveyors in order to appease the house-hungry citizenry. It was found that the average size of neighbourhood unit adopted most nearly fitted the requirements of the Public School Board regarding the economics of the elementary school itself. It also fell admirably into line with the maxim that no housewife should have to walk more than one-quarter of a mile to shop and no child more than one-quarter of a mile to school. The parallel Separate School Board bothered us a while as to the correct placing of the Separate elementary school, as Public school enrollment to Separate school enrollment in this City varies from 4:1 to 5:1. We later hit on a simple answer, although we had trouble in securing complete agreement of the School Boards when we discovered that the Public junior high school was ideal on economic grounds if it served

from four to five neighbourhood units. The Separate school was not too choosy over school locations and helped us quite a lot by accepting some out-of-the-way sites. We did have a request, however, to use caution in placing the Public school not too near the Separate school! Thus the Public junior high school and the Separate elementary school generally found themselves somewhere near the focus of four adjacent neighbourhood units. This ideal physical relation has not always been possible to achieve organizationally from the School Boards' viewpoint, because there has been difficulty in getting enough schools completed in time to prevent some overlapping of school enrollment boundaries including pre-1950 housing areas adjacent to new neighbourhood units. Undoubtedly when the School Boards have caught up and provided for as many schools as there are neighbourhood units, this problem will resolve itself.

In a nutshell, to date, starts have been made on 23 neighbourhood units and 2 sub-units. The sub-units have all the accommodation of a neighbourhood unit, but are necessarily smaller in size as they are hemmed in by arterial routes virtually unchangeable. Of these 23, 15 can be said to be potentially completed. Five more units are now on the board, and 8 more remain to be considered. It should be mentioned that 5 of the completed units, because of their superior location with regard to natural amenity, contain houses over which a measure of architectural control was imposed, initially at the request of the residents; and today a drive through any of these areas must impress the visitor as a very delightful experience.

Finally, in all but one or two of these neighbourhood units, the integrated neighbourhood unit was made possible because much of the land was City-owned (chiefly through tax default years ago). The Alberta Town and

A Group of Houses in a Neighbourhood Unit.

A Housing Crescent.

Treatment of a Residential Cul-de-sac.

The Successful Penetration of Downtown Business into an old central residential area.

Rural Planning Act rules that if the owners of 60% of the land are in agreement with a neighbourhood unit plan it shall be approved. After the first few units started, certain of the larger local builders helped themselves (to obtain better lots) and helped us by buying up blocks of land in the new proposed areas according to the old subdivision plans, thus assuring the 60% criteria in all cases so far. In some units the City has held as little as ten acres only. If any of the minority of owners were opposed to the new plan, arbitration between them and the City at the provincial level with fair compensation payable to the owner was usually arrived at. In such cases, the owner as a rule actually gained in real estate value on his transferred land and converted his previously "frozen" assets into an immediately salable commodity.

BUSINESS

For purposes of analysis and in keeping with the general proposals contained in the Evolving General Plan, the business function as a whole was broken down into three levels. At the top level was the usual downtown area; at the lowest level was the neighbourhood unit local shopping centre; and somewhere between these two levels and serving roughly a population of 50,000 (or ten neighbourhood units) was created a new level known here as the District Shopping Centre. Certain main roads in the City, but not near the downtown area, had grown into the usual lineal development type of business on both sides of the street. As an example, Whyte Avenue (the main "drag" of the former City of Strathcona, now known as Edmonton's South Side) stretches for some ten blocks of continuous business east and west, parallel to the downtown area and some 1½ miles south of it. Again, 118th Avenue stretches for the same distance with similar built-up business, and extends about two miles north of the downtown area. The function of these two business streets is neither downtown nor local. The strung-out lineal nature of such development, with negligible off-street parking facilities, could hardly be called good design; so it was decided to plan for three further areas of business at the district level in the newer sectors of the City which lacked such facilities, but, in doing so, to adopt an integrated form well provided with parking, rather similar, yet generally smaller, than their American prototype, the regional shopping centre.

LOCAL LEVEL

Every plan of neighbourhood unit and sub-unit was provided with a local shopping centre varying from four shops to twelve depending on the size of the particular unit. Although in separate lot form, they were laid out as a unit, set back with adequate off-street parking in front. An early trouble we ran into was that if a centre was to be well-located with reference to the rest of the unit, the land involved was invariably privately-owned and in some cases partly City-owned and partly private. Coupled with this, the City policy in the early stage was to sell lots in such centres singly with a condition that the shop cover the full width of the lot. The rest was up to the Architectural Panel (the group which also dealt with the restricted housing areas) to achieve some kind of architectural unity. In the main, this was a poor policy, particularly when an occasional builder missed his ground level elevation and found himself three or four steps higher than his neighbour! Also, there was no guarantee that every lot would be sold at approximately the same time, or, in the case of private lots, that there would not be some gaps meanwhile between adjoining shops. Consequently, in some of the earlier neighbourhood units, a shopping centre has emerged. In

A Neighbourhood Shopping Centre.

A Typical Building in the Hudson's Bay Industrial Reserve.

one case, there is a "group" of two-story buildings abutting each other, of varying heights above grade and all of different elevational treatment and materials. In other cases, the same mixture has arisen with regard to one-story shopping centres composed of individual buildings abutting each other. Fortunately this has happened in only five of the neighbourhood units.

Subsequently, the policy was changed and the land, where privately or City-owned, was sold as a unit to the first bidder. We have three such integrated local shopping centres built and three more are started. This lag behind the number of neighbourhood units started is apparently typical. No person wishes to sink money in local business until his clientele is actually established in the neighbourhood unit. The same thing occurs regarding the neighbourhood recreational centre (or community league as it is called here). These recreation centres use City land, but the buildings and improvements thereon are financed by the residents after they have become organized in the area, save that the City matches 25% of the capital investments up to a maximum of $5,000.

DISTRICT SHOPPING LEVEL

Three such areas of approximately thirty acres each were included early on in our Evolving General Development Plan in sectors of the City devoid of business facilities at this level. A start has been made on the first which is to be opened officially (by helicopter, I understand) in August next year. A commitment has been made by the same group to start the second in 1955, both being financed by American capital. The third had a semi-commitment made on two-thirds of it to start in 1955, this being financed by Canadian capital. In each case, this Department imposed a parking to building ratio of 3:1; but the owners of the first two have gone even better and are providing four acres for parking to every acre of building and this they claim may still not be enough. The approved designs contain all the usual amenities associated with such projects.

DOWNTOWN LEVEL

The so-called downtown area developed lineally along two main axes—east and west and north and south—yielding a new downtown focal point at Jasper Avenue and 101st Street. Simultaneously with this earlier development, some twenty odd blocks in the form of a simple rectangle became known generally as the central wholesale-warehouse area just north and west of this focal point. This area has maintained throughout a remarkable assimilation of buildings and land of common use. To the east of the downtown area lies the old original business area of the City, now thoroughly run down, with the homes and businesses of transients and mid-European immigrants.

A Neighbourhood Recreational Area.

As the City grew, the downtown area had to grow with it until it ran up against the old central and once luxurious residential areas to the south and west and to the Canadian National Railway's main yards to the north. It was obvious that this central business would break through somewhere. It was effectively barred by the width of the C.N.R. yard to the north; to the east it had no desire to penetrate the depressed property; and to the west the Canadian Pacific Railway Terminal tracks and yard offered a similar barrier. Thus, it could only go south into the transitional housing area. This penetration has been controlled with some effect by permitting development to gobble up only a block at a time and in a lineal direction east-to-west parallel to Jasper Avenue. This is beginning to yield "body" to the erstwhile lineal development. We can say that the downtown area is increasingly taking on a more compact form, being broken down into five main natural use areas: the retail and office business area itself, the central wholesale-warehouse area, the government centre area to the west, the civic centre area and the run-down older business area to the east. One and two-story buildings are yielding to modern high structures as redevelopment proceeds, off-street parking being a mandatory provision of the permit. The proposals of the earlier downtown parking report are slowly being implemented by a continuing increase of off-street parking facilities, both publicly and privately financed. Some degree of architectural control is exercised, to the extent that on certain of the downtown streets any new buildings must achieve a minimum height and not exceed a maximum height. The British Floor-Space-Index Method of estimating potential parking requirements and the control of bulk and daylighting in a form modified to suit Edmonton is not quite ready but will be included in the General Development Plan when it comes down for endorsement.

The central wholesale-warehouse area, which earlier exhibited some of the worst bottlenecks of on-street loading in this City, has been a subject of tumult during

The Rebuilt City Incinerator in the River Valley —a bad mistake.

the last three years. The early established die-hard land owners in the area have continually fought a proposed by-law in all its different amended forms, seeking to curb and eventually to eliminate such on-street loading. The by-law has yet to be approved. This outcry, however, has not bothered us unduly; we have in effect used the proposed by-law in every request for a building permit since 1951, for the subject is fully covered under the broader powers of the Interim Development by-law. The specific proposed by-law merely sought to make more detailed and explicit some of these broad powers. The controversy over the by-law provided so much publicity that most of the refractory buildings have either been scared by public opinion into gradually eliminating the on-street loading bays or have bricked them up on the grounds of increased efficiency to the businesses themselves or have simply withdrawn from the area to new and better fields in the decentralized industry and warehouse zones, the evacuated buildings meanwhile being converted into office blocks and other forms of like use not requiring on-street loading. It seems, therefore, that the proposed by-law, laid over for so long, is accomplishing what it was intended to do without actually becoming law!

INDUSTRY

Early in 1950, it became obvious that the amorphous areas peppered with industry on undersized and ill-shaped lots would have to be corrected. We borrowed the general idea of the trading estate from the English, though modified to suit industrial zoning within the City, rather than provide isolated industrial areas without the City limits. Earlier on, too, the C.N.R. were in consultation with us concerning a five million dollar reorganization scheme which is all but completed now, many miscellaneous railway lines being removed, many grade crossings eliminated, and a general tidying up of all their property with suitable new capital improvements being accomplished. There was complete cooperation between the railway companies regarding the decentralization of industry and comprehensive rezoning of acres of land to industry and warehouse became a very important aspect of our Evolving General Development Plan.

Three very large industrial areas were laid out on the City fringe, one to the northwest, one to the dead north and one to the southwest. It was also decided, however, that these would not serve all industrial purposes, particularly some of those of a non-obnoxious kind which only wished for partial decentralization. An old golf course about a mile from the downtown area was abandoned as such in the Hudson Bay Reserve; a new golf course in the River Valley was constructed; and the Hudson Bay Industrial Reserve came into being. It varied from two to three blocks wide and was some eight blocks deep. All but the southern portion is now completed. The area is separated from adjacent housing areas by planted buffer strips averaging 150 feet wide; the industrial property is separated from trunk arterials serving it by parallel service roads; and the old idea that industrial property looks ugly and has a depreciative effect on adjoining property has been thrown into the ash can. The three other fully decentralized industrial areas are being filled up in the same way with the same amenities. Warehouse buildings of not immodest dimensions front such areas, and straight industrial development lies in the centre behind. In the front of such properties, grass lawns and landscaping are becoming more common as the yards are cleared of construction rubbish and the seeds take root.

OPEN SPACES AND RECREATION

Everybody probably has heard of Edmonton's valuable natural asset, the deep valley of the North Saskatchewan River which more or less bisects the total City area in a northeast to southwest direction. Although such an asset does provide unwanted headaches with regard to cross-town arterial highways, it nevertheless remains as the City's chief central claim to beauty. The rest of the City is entirely flat plateau, if one can except the eight or so deep narrow ravines and creeks cutting into both sides of the plateau from the valley floor. It was, therefore, not difficult to analyze the function of parks and recreation space. As in the development of business, there is what might be called the central level (the River Valley), the district recreational facilities, and the purely local neighbourhood recreational centre.

At the central level, it is true that the natural beauty of the valley has been marred in places in years gone by, chiefly, I believe, because of a faulty by-law. Again because of the dependence on the river itself of certain essential utilities, and possibly also because quite a con-

siderable portion of the valley floor was privately-owned and not zoned soon enough for parks, etc.[3] The park zone was provided for in the suspended zoning by-law as follows: ". . . no building or land shall be used save and except for public parks and *municipal* and *community purposes*". I doubt whether a court of law would preclude the erection of a gas works or an engineering yard, if municipally owned, under such a definition. This vagueness in definition may account for some of the earlier mistakes made by City officials, and it certainly accounts for the fact that the ugly City incinerator, the huge power plant and sundry sewage treatment works were constructed in the Valley alongside City nurseries and parks. It is, however, hard to understand how a brewery or a three-story ice house as well as some plush private houses were able to secure building permits in the Valley prior to 1949!

The large valley tracts in 1949 included, as well as the items mentioned above, three golf courses, two golf course, skating and indoor recreational facilities. A new zoo site of 100 acres was ratified by Council early this year, and work will commence on it as soon as the winning of gravel has been completed there next year. An arboretum and botanical garden has a reserved site of 40 acres; a new park and picnic area is proposed on another 150 acres; a new baseball grandstand was completed this year; and, under a policy of general cleaning up, no further permits for houses are being granted on the beaches or in the other isolated housing groups, land exchanges for housing lots on the plateau being entered into whenever possible. The brewery was refused a permit to expand this year. The City incinerator has recently been entirely rebuilt—on the same location unfortunately, overriding a counter recommendation by the Town Planner—but we are promised a general tidying up of the area surrounding the incinerator into parkland after constructional rubbish is removed. The City nurseries are expanding and new bridges are either being

In 1949: Housing on one of the Beaches in the River Valley.

Looking south across the River Valley showing the general mess which is now being cleaned up.

organized picnic areas, two organized public parks, swimming pool, two gridiron housing areas virtually the size of neighbourhood units constructed on emergent beaches, several isolated groups of old houses, a brick yard, a gravel pit and undeveloped and unspoiled bush growing on flat reaches and steep banks.

Since 1949, a development plan of the Valley and cliffs within the General Development Plan has allocated almost every acre of the Valley to some form of park or recreational use, not including those pieces of land required for bridgeheads, approaches and grade separation connections. A fourth golf course has been built; a fifth has land reserved for it; a large sports centre sponsored by a service club has been started, including two football fields, two baseball diamonds, tennis and badminton courts, ski and toboggan runs, a miniature

[3] The first Edmonton Zoning By-law did not come into force until 1932.

constructed or proposed of latest modern concrete design. All point eventually to a River Valley being intelligently developed and generally cleaned up.

At the district level, the General Development Plan includes one large park and playing areas of approximately 50 to 100 acres for each of the six sectors of the City: three on each side of the River Valley some mile or more back of the Valley on the plateaus. Lack of free capital at the moment has precluded any start being made on these areas; but they are of course available in their natural state for whatever recreational activities enthusiasts can draw out of them. Each of six high schools have some 14-18 acres of playing fields available to the public after school hours.

At the local level, if we exclude the four or five acres of playing fields for each public elementary school and the three acres for each Separate elementary school, each neighbourhood unit has a minimum of two acres for

community league purposes. The final facilities of each community league are to include a club house, an ice rink, a softball diamond and kiddies' apparatus. Some may include tennis courts and other games requiring minimum pitches. Each neighbourhood unit has also been allotted two acres for pure park or passive recreation. Many smaller triangles and odd pieces of land are landscaped; and around these, houses are grouped, as many as possible being planted and developed each year by the Parks Department so far as their small annual budgets allow.

MISCELLANEOUS PROJECTS

Among the larger proposals, outside of the above named types of land use, may be mentioned the Government Centre, the Civic Centre, a plan for redeveloping the Clarke Stadium, a plan for redeveloping the Edmonton Exhibition property, the removal of the City Airport and redevelopment thereon, and a plan for reorganizing C.P.R. property similar to the above mentioned C.N.R. project.

A plan for the development of the Government Centre around the existing Capitol as nucleus met with universal acclamation when it was introduced and approved in 1950. Because subsequently the Provincial Government has used its prerogative to do what it likes with its own property, and because the City has withdrawn its original idea of building a new city hall in such a sector, the plan has had to be amended twice. In spite of excellent cooperation from the Federal Government level, the plan has to all intents been ruined. It is really deplorable the way in which the Provincial Government is littering the area with miscellaneous buildings of different shapes and heights and architectural styles without any reference to the plan, in spite of the agreement to have clauses entered into the Interim Development By-law acknowledging that all government buildings require development permits like everyone else. It is true that they obtained such permits, but these are almost entirely the product of active politics in which the Town Planner is generally ordered to give the permit. We have some hope of partly saving the northern portion of the Centre, but it is the southern portion in front of the Legislative Building with a beautiful aspect over the River Valley which is fast going to pot.

The Civic Centre on the other hand is a purely local City responsibility; and since the demise of the so-called Detwiler Miracle Mile (it actually measured 1,270 feet), the area right in the heart of the City has had different proposals made for it without ever getting out of control. With the exception of one small parcel, the total of some thirty acres has been under City ownership for many years—the fruits of a policy of a far-sighted City Commissioner recently retired. It appears now that the whole area will simply be devoted to the new city hall and a central park with some grade parking areas adjacent. Tenders for the city hall are now about to be called and a start will have been made when this is read.

The Government Centre, showing miscellaneous new buildings constructed by the Provincial Government without reference to the Government Centre Plan.

A new west stand for the Clarke Stadium football arena has been completed this summer, the whole arena being pushed back some 150 feet in keeping with a master plan which will provide for full development of a first-class sports area in the years to come.

TRANSPORTATION

Circumscribing and interpenetrating all these various land uses we come lastly to highways and other aspects of transportation. Owing to the necessity of getting the boundaries of the earlier neighbourhood units established for immediate construction, the proposals for main highways unavoidably had to be taken down to Council before the General Development Plan was complete for ratification as a separate feature. Council approved this General Highway Plan in principle only, as at that time we were far from certain as to the final extension outwards of such arterial highways at points beyond the neighbourhood units which they attempted to separate. This adoption in principle was, however, satisfactory enough for our purposes, as the plan for highways did in fact break up the whole City territory into large homogeneous tracts of land earmarked for the major natural use areas such as further neighbourhood units, industrial areas, district parks and recreation areas, and district shopping areas. It provided the Engineers Department with the answers they required for the immediate construction of their particular year's highway program, which has gone on each year at a highly commendable clip (something like 35 miles per year of four-lane or better arterial highways having been achieved since 1950).

This General Highway Plan was naturally based on a decentralized network, including many miles of limited access highways, such highways either being bordered by buffer strips where feasible or by parallel service roads

when adjacent to newly built-up areas. Intersections of important highways were in the first instance controlled by large-diameter traffic rotaries at grade; but in so designing these intersections, enough land was reserved at the sides to be used for grade separation when traffic volume builds up to a point which cannot be handled by a simple rotary. In all, seven such rotaries have been completed to date with more than two dozen awaiting construction. In two cases, earlier mistakes in faulty layout and construction have been remedied this year by rebuilding in part, and one can say that the rotary function is operating successfully and apparently to the satisfaction of the City driver.

One difficulty we have experienced with rotaries is the love of the gas service station to locate on the corners of important intersections. A by-law to regulate service stations took months to thrash out with the leading gas companies; but a compromise was reached.

The limited access arterial highways provided access to adjacent neighbourhood units at one, or at most two, points only on every side of the unit. These feeder connections go direct to the heart of the unit throwing off purely local residential streets enroute. It is at these intersections of limited access highways and feeder roads that service station sites are now being approved. The gas companies are slowly coming around to the knowledge that their service stations cannot any longer hope to secure all the traffic all the time without breaking the highway by-law. Other locations for service stations are gaining in popularity—within the local shopping centre of the neighbourhood unit, and as before, in many of the downtown business zones or District Shopping Centres when conditions of the specific by-law can be met.

Superimposed on the network of existing and proposed major arterial highways a further plan for truck routes was approved last year.

As hinted before, one of the most serious drawbacks to the full implementation of the General Highway Plan is the need for further cross-river bridges in addition to the four existing in 1949. One of these new bridges with adequate clover-leaf approaches was to have been opened late this fall, but recent heavy rains collapsed the two central arches while the concrete was green. When this bridge is finally opened, it will provide a large measure of relief for westerly cross-river traffic without the need for penetrating the downtown area as we do now. A new east-end bridge to resolve a similar problem is now finding favour for an early start, possibly next year, although local policies may decide that one of the old two-lane bridges may be converted first into a four-lane bridge with adequate grade separation approaches costing over two million dollars. The long, High Level Bridge, a familiar landmark in Edmonton, although very unsuitable with but two lanes, is the subject of a proposal for converting the now-abandoned street car tracks on the top level into a four-lane highway with the main C.P.R. tracks between them. Though such additional lanes would be useful, they would not solve any existing immediate traffic snarls at each end of the bridge so long as each bridge approach fanned out into innumerable highway approaches, many of which really need to be diverted to other new bridges before the High Level conversion is started. This conversion proposal has been tabled these last three years. The Low Level Bridge in duplicate (one lane on one bridge and two on the other) is now serving such a widely distributed and expanded new section of fringe neighbourhood units that little short of a major physical operation at both bridge ends can solve a dreadful traffic tie-up that gets worse almost daily during the "in" and "out" rush hours.

Lack of space forbids anything other than this somewhat cursory review of the physical manifestations of Edmonton's last four years of growth. Public utilities have not been mentioned; neither is there space to include some of the practical results achieved by the Edmonton District Planning Commission in whose area of jurisdiction the City of Edmonton is but the core. This Commission has performed some very noteworthy work in its short existence, particularly with regard to research and planning, but as a public body it is sorely handicapped in achieving practical results by the constitution from which it draws its powers. These powers are purely advisory. On certain major issues the local authority in whose area a problem has been up before the District Planning Commission for resolution has been refused the application by the Commission, but notwithstanding, has gone ahead and implemented the proposal willynilly. Two member municipalities of the Commission have also withdrawn from it apparently because they did not agree to certain of the Commission's decisions. Much objection and publicity has been recorded against the proposals to construct Campbelltown—a so-called satellite but actually a dormitory suburb some four miles away from Edmonton's southeast City Limits and adjacent to the petro-chemical refinery area. Notwithstanding these objections from practically every organized group in the City, the Commission approved the plans by a split vote and the Provincial Government is apparently unwilling to alter this decision. The impasse which has been created by this very friction has given rise to the recent establishment by the Province of a Royal Commission to study metropolitan problems, with particular reference to the Edmonton and Calgary regions, with a view to establishing a more equitable organization at a regional level both for local government and for planning. The findings of this Commission will probably not be known until early next year, but the prevalent feeling at the moment after the preliminary hearings of this Commission is that Edmonton City's corporate limits will probably be extended quite considerably.

LES DEVELOPPEMENTS URBAINS DANS QUEBEC[1]

par Roger Marier*

An account of the extent and quality of urban growth in the province of Quebec appeared recently in a brief submitted to a Quebec Royal Commission by the Quebec Division of the Community Planning Association. The data resulted from a study made by the inter-departmental Committee on Physical Planning of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University, under Professor Harold Spence-Sales. Follows a review of the data and a question mark as to the causes of the state of "mediocrity and ugliness which pervade the urban scene in Quebec".

While population growth has been 640,000 between 1941 and 1951 in cities and towns, it only reached 107,000 in rural areas. The built-up area of metropolitan centres has trebled. Three kinds of urban growth are identified: accretion, new development and ribbon development, this last particularly associated with larger centres where it is to be found as commonly as development by accretion. The quality is poor all across the board, better in new developments, worse in ribbon developments. Satisfactory provisions for water and sewage appear to have been generally provided. But in all types of growth, provisions for paving, lay-out of streets and open spaces are poor. Intrusions are particularly severe in growth by accretion and ribbon development. A legal framework is needed to harness and mould urban growth. It is a necessary feature of the new urban culture of which we are part and which we must develop.

Il y a toujours un décalage, un hiatus, une sorte de retard entre les objectifs sociaux présents à la conscience populaire et les problèmes qui se posent dans la réalité avec un caractère d'urgence et qui devraient soulever l'indignation des masses en même temps que susciter des mesures remédiatrices et préventives. Ce phénomène est particulièrement apparant si on se réfère aux conditions d'habitation des masses urbaines en 1954.

Ce qui habite encore la conscience des bonnes gens, c'est que le coeur de nos villes recèle des chancres, les taudis et que ces taudis impliquent un déficit économique et social. A vrai dire nos consciences de bonnes gens se sont vite accomodées de cette pensée des taudis. Nous avons encore des taudis, des quartiers entiers de taudis dans toutes nos villes d'importance et à notre connaissance, il n'existe pas dans le Québec de dispositions pour remédier à cet état de choses.[2] Mais si la conscience des bonnes gens n'a pour ainsi dire pas été remuée par la connaissance des taudis, il faut bien admettre qu'elle risque de n'être absolument pas touchée par le problème bien plus grave encore que pose le développement urbain survenu depuis la fin de la guerre. Ce problème a été mis en lumière cette année de façon paisible et méthodique mais non moins troublante par la Division de Québec de l'Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme. Le Mémoire présenté par ce groupe fondait ses données sur les résultats d'une recherche sur l'extension urbaine et sa qualité au cours de la période 1941-51, recherche menée à l'Université McGill par l'"Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Planning of the Graduate Faculty".

La conclusion générale du Mémoire c'est que le développement urbain considérable dont la province de Québec a été témoin au cours de ces dix années s'est accompli sous le signe de la *médiocrité* et de la *laideur*. La signification d'une pareille impression générale, émise en quelques mots sans trop grande valeur dramatique, par un groupe d'initiés à l'urbanisme n'est peut-être pas susceptible d'émouvoir le lecteur de "classe moyenne" confortablement enrobé de valeurs bourgeoises, relativement bien établi dans son confort individuel et habitué de voir entre sa condition privilégiée et l'état général le résultat nécessaire d'une distinction entre l'élite et les masses. Mais l'expérience a prouvé qu'en matière de développement urbain comme en d'autres l'isolationisme, l'indifférence et l'inertie constituent de fausses retraites d'autant que le mal indiqué ici est de première envergure.

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[1] D'après le Mémoire présenté à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels par la Division de Québec de l'Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme, Montréal, 1954.

[2] "Adieu Rue des Chênes" tourné par l'O.N.F. d'après une réalisation canadienne contribue à semer l'idée du renouvellement urbain.

CROISSANCE DE NOS VILLES

En dix ans la population urbaine s'est enflée à un rythme accéléré. Nos villes se sont accrues de 640,000 âmes quand la population rurale n'a augmenté que de 107,000. De cette augmentation, les deux centres métropolitains, Montréal et Québec, qui comptent maintenant plus de 1,600,000 âmes ont absorbé 300,000. Le reste, 340,000 âmes est allé aux autres centres urbains dont sept ont une population de plus de 30,000 habitants, six de 20,000 à 30,000, douze de 10,000 à 20,000 et dix-sept de 5,000 à 10,000. Le pourcentage de l'augmentation se chiffre à 39% pour les grands centres, à 42% pour les centres moyens et à 36% pour les petits centres.

L'augmentation devait se refléter dans un accroissement de l'aire urbaine. L'aire bâtie dans les territoires métropolitains a presque triplé, celle des centres urbains de 30,000 âmes et plus à peu près doublé, celle des centres de 10,000 à 30,000 plus que doublé. L'aire des villes de 5,000 à 10,000 de population a augmenté d'à peu près un tiers.

L'augmentation de l'aire de nos villes ne s'est pas faite suivant un type uniforme. Le Mémoire identifie trois formes différentes d'accroissement urbain dans la Province: (1) accroissements sous forme d'extension contigüe à d'anciens territoires bâtis et de même type que ces derniers; (2) accroissements par création de développements nouveaux de types différents de celui des anciens territoires bâtis; (3) enfin accroissements en forme de rubans qui s'étendent le long des grandes voies de circulation vers la campagne. La fréquence de ces types d'accroissement se retrouve inégalement dans nos villes et semble reliée à leur ordre de grandeur. Dans les petits centres et les centres moyens, les deux premières formes d'accroissement mentionnées se rencontrent avec un égale fréquence. L'accroissement sous forme de rubans est inexistante dans les petits centres, peu considérable dans les centres moyens. Mais dans les grands centres, ceux de 30,000 et plus, l'accroissement sous forme de rubans est même plus fréquente que l'accroissement sous forme d'extension contigüe à d'anciens territoires bâtis et de même type que ces derniers et deux fois plus commune que l'accroissement par développements nouveaux comme il apparait au Tableau 1.

Le mémoire établit donc que nos villes ont eu une poussée de croissance qui fait contraste avec la période précédente au cours de laquelle la construction n'avait pas suffi aux besoins, résultat de la grande crise économique. On aurait pu s'attendre à ce que cet accroissement urbain en ait été un de bonne qualité. Car, le Mémoire le rappelle, la période de temps au cours de laquelle ces développements sont survenus est caractérisée par la prospérité et une augmentation intense de la production industrielle. C'est en même temps dans cette période que le peuple canadien a fait preuve d'un souci de bien-être collectif sans précédent. Cet espoir d'un accroissement urbain de qualité aura malheureusement été trompé!

DE QUELLE QUALITE?

Le Mémoire aborde le problème de la qualité par deux questions: (1) Est-ce que les développements urbains de cette période témoignent d'une croissance équilibrée? et (2) Est-ce que l'aménagement fait de l'espace a été rationnel et ordonné? Il y a croissance équilibrée, toujours suivant le Mémoire, quand on retrouve dans chaque partie composante de l'aire urbaine de quoi satisfaire les exigences primordiales de la vie à la ville, telles que rues, parcs, terrains de jeux, édifices et services d'utilités publiques et qu'en plus, ces différentes parties de l'aire urbaine sont coordonnées de façon pratique et efficace. Il y a développement ordonné quand celui-ci a eu comme résultat d'abord des conditions raisonnables d'espacement, de lumière et d'air, ensuite une disposition et une apparence des bâtisses susceptibles d'imprimer un cachet civique à la localité.

A remarquer que les jugements de qualité sont souvent difficiles à formuler; les standards de qualité sont susceptibles de varier suivant le goût de chacun. Mais dans le Mémoire et dans l'enquête sur laquelle le Mémoire se fonde, les questions posées laissent peu au goût particulier parce qu'elles supposent l'existence de facteurs d'ordre physique. L'absence de possibilité d'inondation; un système de rues pavées, avec trottoirs entretenus et sur lesquelles la circulation n'est pas un danger pour les habitants; un système d'aqueduc et d'égouts; la présence de parcs et terrains de jeux; celle d'institutions religieuses et commerciales à distance raisonnable des résidences; l'absence d'intrusion industrielle, de bruit ou de pollution atmosphérique; l'espacement des maisons de façon à assurer la lumière, l'air et

TABLEAU 1 — Surface moyenne mesurée en âcres des trois types d'accroissement, par catégorie de centres urbains[3]

Catégories de centres urbains	Types d'accroissement urbain		
	Extension contigüe	Développements nouveaux	Développements sous forme de rubans
Petits centres (5,000 à 10,000)	30	30	—
Centres moyens (10,000 à 30,000)	170	170	30
grands centres (plus de 30,000)	310	160	330

[3]Mémoire p. 14.

certain degré d'intimité; l'utilisation faite dans la construction des édifices de matériaux appropriés et resistants; l'apparence d'ordre et d'entretien; la présence d'arbres sur la rue: ce sont là des facteurs qui laissent peu au jugement subjectif.

Les questions posées, le Mémoire tente d'apporter des réponses qui tiennent compte des différents types d'accroissement urbain. Le type d'accroissement qui comporte le plus de facteurs positifs de qualité s'avère l'accroissement par création de développements nouveaux de types différents de celui des anciens territoires bâtis. Ces accroissements s'avèrent bons dans 36% des cas, passables dans 52% et mauvais dans 12%. Dans le cas des accroissements sous forme d'extension contigüe à d'anciens territoires bâtis et de même type que ces derniers, les résultats sont plus inquiétants car si 17% seulement sont classifiés mauvais, 70% ne sont que passables. L'évaluation de la qualité des accroissements sous forme de rubans est bouleversante puisque, où qu'ils se trouvent, comme l'indique le tableau 2, ils s'avèrent presque en totalité mauvais; d'autant plus que cette forme d'accroissement est plus commune que toute autre dans les grands centres.

Somme toute, des trois types d'accroissement, le type par développements nouveaux parait supérieur aux deux autres en qualité, phénomène dont les entreprises de construction à grande échelle sont responsables en grande partie. Les accroissements "contigües et de même type" sont rapportés en grande majorité comme passables et on indique les subdivisions faites pour des fins de spéculation comme une des causes de cet état de fait. La pauvreté des accroissements sous forme de rubans est le résultat d'une absence de contrôle sur les subdivisions faites, soit à l'intérieur, soit à l'extérieur des frontières municipales, le long des voies de communication des villes avec la campagne.

Un examen des facteurs qui composent l'indice de croissance équilibrée permet d'identifier un contraste. Partout, dans tous les types d'accroissement, les dispositions relatives au pavage, à l'ouverture des rues, à l'aménagement de parcs et terrains de jeux sont pauvres,

TABLEAU 2 — Qualité des accroissements urbains sous formes de rubans, 1941–51[4]

Dimension des centres urbains	Pourcentage de qualité		
	Bons	Passables	Mauvais
Petits (5,000 à 10,000).....	—	—	—
Moyens (10,000 à 30,000)....		31%	69%
Grands (30,000 et plus).....		11%	89%
En moyenne.....		13%	87%

[4]Mémoire, p. 17.

alors que les conditions d'aqueduc et d'égoût apparaissent satisfaisantes. Cette constatation suggère une concentration des efforts de nos municipalités sur un seul point au dépens des autres, l'incapacité financière de faire face au problème en son entier ou encore l'inconscience même du problème.

La réponse de l'enquête à la seconde question, à savoir est-ce que l'aménagement fait de l'espace a été rationnel et ordonné, est négative sur presque toute la ligne. En particulier, les intrusions commerciales et industrielles sont responsables de gâchis à la fois dans les accroissements "contigües et de même type" et dans les accroissements "sous forme de rubans." Sites et apparences sont également cotés comme mauvais partout. Le pire, il faut s'y attendre, reste aux accroissements "sous forme de rubans".

MEDIOCRITE ET LAIDEUR?

La conclusion générale de cet exposé ne peut être que "médiocrité et laideur ont pénétré partout sur la scène urbaine dans la province de Québec". Quelle est donc la signification de cet état de choses?

A l'époque rurale, les Canadiens français, à l'aide de leurs techniques héritées de France mais adaptées au pays, et inspirés par leurs idéaux propres de vie ont édifié des agglomérations humaines, des villages dont les vestiges dans la Province de Québec charment encore nos yeux. Nous nous sommes plu à voir là l'expression d'un peuple, d'une culture dont les valeurs nous tiennent encore à cœur. Mais, hôlà! ces villes dont on peut dire que la "médiocrité et la laideur a pénétré partout" sont-elles aussi l'expression d'un peuple, d'une culture? C'est que la culture est changée ou qu'elle est en voie d'évolution rapide.

> "Les deux tiers de la population de Québec sont maintenant urbanisés. En aucun autre temps, le volume et la rapidité de l'accroissement urbain n'a été plus grand; en aucun autre temps, la tendance vers l'urbanisation n'a eu une plus grande influence sur la vie dans ses aspects culturels, sociaux et économiques; et en aucun autre temps, l'accroissement urbain n'a causé de problèmes de gouvernement plus complexes. Le rythme grandissant de l'urbanisation est un phénomène de notre époque. Les dispositions actuelles des lois municipales dans la Province ne peuvent plus suffire devant l'envergure et la complexité des problèmes".[5]

Et pourtant les facteurs de qualité étudiés dans l'enquête et rapportés dans le Mémoire relevaient de la compétence attribuée à nos villes par la *Loi des Cités et Villes*. En effet nos conseils de ville ont le pouvoir de réglementer la construction, de zoner le territoire municipal, de construire parcs, terrains de jeux, etc. Le caractère civique de nos agglomérations ne peut plus être le résultat de l'initiative individuelle. L'individu ne peut qu'être frustré si le développement urbain dont il fait partie change de caractère à cause de facteurs sur

[5]Mémoire, p. 23.

lesquels il n'a aucun pouvoir. Lui-même ne peut être tenu individuellement responsable ni nécessairement compté comme conscient de la qualité du développement urbain auquel il se joint ou dont il fait partie. Nos conseils de ville eux-mêmes seront dépassés par les faits tant qu'ils n'exerceront leurs pouvoirs que sous la pression d'individus ou de groupes et ne seront gouvernés que par des considérations circonstancielles comme l'existence d'un terrain vacant pour décider de l'établissement d'un terrain de jeux par exemple. Il leur faut une vision large du problème de l'accroissement urbain qui n'est pas le propre du profane, mais le résultat d'un choix d'après un conseil d'expert.

A problèmes de masse conviennent des solutions collectives. Notre culture se développera par le moyen d'organisations et de législations qui lui seront des instruments de progrès comme à la fois des garanties contre la détérioration. Pour l'avenir de nos enfants, l'école est devenue obligatoire. Pour l'avenir de nos villes, une législation d'urbanisme s'impose qui rendra obligatoire dans chacune l'adoption d'un plan directeur de développement. Un tel plan formulé avec l'aide d'urbanistes sera de nature à mouler nos villes dans de telles formes qu'il nous plaira de les reconnaître comme l'expression de notre culture.

Ne voilà-t-il pas un objectif social que la fierté de notre culture sinon l'inquiétude de la condition des masses peut nous faire endosser?

LES RECOMMANDATIONS DU MEMOIRE DE L'A.C.U. A LA COMMISSION ROYALE

par Jacques Simard*

The terms of Reference of the Royal Commission of Enquiry on Constitutional Problems were of such amplitude that the Quebec Division of CPAC saw fit to lay before it a Brief on planning, as affecting the relations between the Provincial Government and Local Authority.

The Brief recognizes the excellence of the instruments for planning in The Cities & Towns Act, The Municipal Code and various other specialized Acts. But the times have changed and the procedure should be adapted to the new conditions.

That they are inadequate is proved by a study of construction in the last decade.

In the Recommendations, emphasis is on greater authority at the level of the Minister and the development of new powers to take care of regional planning.

Responsibilities are shared by a Planning Board (made up of heads of Departments which have an interest in Planning) for which a Bureau of Urbanism is the executive agency. A Committee advises all along the line on urban and rural planning statutes.

Les pouvoirs d'enquête de la Commission Royale sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels étaient d'une telle envergure que la Division de Québec de l'Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme a jugé bon de présenter les problèmes d'aménagement à la Commission en se plaçant du point de vue des rapports municipaux-provinciaux.

Le moment était opportun puisque la Division pouvait utiliser un travail en profondeur sur la construction depuis les 10 dernières années entrepris par le département d'Urbanisme de l'Université McGill.

La partie du Mémoire basée sur ce travail est commentée ailleurs; c'est de cette recherche étalée comme exemple que découlent les recommandations énumérées ci-après.

La Province de Québec est la seule province du Canada qui ne possède pas une loi spécifique d'urbanisme.

Mais celui qui, de ce fait, conclurait à l'immaturité politique, à l'insensibilité de ses habitants manquerait de connaissances historiques et légales.

Car on peut reculer loin en arrière dans l'histoire du peuplement des grandes vallées du St-Laurent et du Richelieu et trouver chez ses habitants, sinon des prescriptions légales, du moins une sensibilité dans l'aménagement du milieu qui se passait de ce qui est devenu la science de l'urbanisme. L'étude si intéressante du Professeur Spence-Sales sur la valléee du Richelieu, clou de la Conférence de l'ACU de 1952, à Saint-Jean, a prouvé que les bonnes gens d'autrefois savaient façonner leur milieu; on n'a qu'à répéter les doux noms du pays pour sentir comment les gens du Québec (en commun avec ceux du vieux pays de Terre-Neuve) savaient com-

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prendre, aimer, caresser comme son enfant la terre où s'écoulait leur vie.

On ne doit pas conclure, cependant, que si cette sympathie est innée et en général inconsciente on n'en trouve pas des vestiges dans certaines prescriptions. Quand le Baron de Longueuil concède une terre, on trouve invariablement dans l'acte, la condition stipulant que tout arbre coupé doit être remplacé par un arbre planté; qu'on se place sur le plan économique ou esthétique, voilà du "planning" qu'on pourrait imiter aujourd'hui. Les ancêtres avaient de plus apporté avec le droit français certains usages encore utiles aujourd'hui; telle l'homologation, cet instrument qui permet de figer pour l'avenir, par devant la cour, l'emploi du sol, créant immédiatement un "non conforming use". S'il n'en est pas fait abus, cette prévoyance évite des dépenses futures considérables et agit comme tampon contre la spéculation.

Mais d'une portée beaucoup plus grande sont les articles de la *Loi des Cités et Villes*, du *Code Municipal*, et de plusieurs autres lois spéciales dont certains articles sont nettement des prescriptions d'urbanisme.

Dans un appendice au Mémoire, les textes principaux sont donnés. On y voit la réglementation des rues et de la plantation d'arbres; un conseil municipal peut ainsi forcer un propriétaire à planter des arbres devant sa maison (*Lois des Cités et Villes*, art. 429); peut ouvrir des parcs, des terrains de jeux; construire des édifices publics, des bibliothèques et musées; fournir les services publics (ce qui est mieux connu); établir un zonage et y contrôler l'architecture, faire les plans nécessaires qui engagent tout le monde sur confirmation de la Cour Supérieure (homologation).

Dans la *Loi de la Voirie*, un contrôle régional est exercé par la province et la dimension des rues d'une subdivision est prescrite.

Par la *Loi du Cadastre*, une subdivision ne peut être enregistrée qu'après acceptation du Conseil, tandis qu'une loi spéciale réglemente l'affichage.

Il n'est pas inutile de rappeler ces éléments qui permettent à l'urbaniste de procéder avec vigueur. Cependant, trop de ces richesses sont ignorées par les non spécialistes. D'autre part, c'est cette richesse même qui supporte l'argument du laisser-faire. Pourquoi une loi d'Urbanisme quand on a tout ce qu'il faut? Qu'est-ce qu'une loi d'Urbanisme pourrait ajouter? Et surtout, est-ce qu'on pratiquerait plus l'urbanisme si tous ces préceptes étaient codifiés?

Les recommandations du Mémoire, fruit de plusieurs années d'étude, par des spécialistes dans les disciplines de la géographie, des sciences sociales, politiques, économiques, génie et architecture, réunis en séminaires répondent à ces questions.

Avant d'y arriver cependant on peut se demander pourquoi cet éparpillement.

La réponse qui nous vient à l'esprit fait une large part au tempérament français. En effet, celui-ci s'accorde mal des prescriptions qui lui enlèvent sa liberté de penser et d'agir à sa guise. La loi qui intervient pour lui dicter sa façon de vivre ou de façonner son milieu s'accepte difficilement et tend à devenir lettre morte. Car chacun est roi chez soi et celui qui lui dictera comment faire sa maison, ou planter des arbres devant celle-ci, ne se rendra pas populaire; chacun son goût et "tot sensus quot capita", chacun son idée. Si bien que ces préceptes visant l'ensemble restent oubliés dans les recoins de la loi d'où l'homme au sens politique prend bien garde de les en sortir.

C'est cette valeur de deuxième plan que ces préceptes prennent dans les lois différentes que le législateur hésitera à codifier sous le nom de Loi d'Urbanisme, craignant qu'en les mettant au jour, il ne devienne impopulaire.

Si cet argument a quelque valeur, il explique pourquoi en général, malgré les outils nécessaires et utiles, si peu se fasse dans le champ de l'urbanisme; pourquoi nos villes modernes où les habitants ont perdu le sens inné d'un milieu convenable, sont des villes mal faites et d'un aspect plein d'ennui et de grisaille.

C'est que les temps sont bien changés. De la société d'autrefois, ayant à sa tête le curé parce que les choses de l'âme passent avant tout, présidée à la mairie par le notaire, parce qu'homme de loi et de confiance, toujours réélu parce qu'il connaissait son monde et qu'on ne doutait pas de son honnêteté et de son savoir, dans cette société explosée par la révolution industrielle on en vient à élire l'homme le plus populaire, ce qui n'est pas synonyme de connaissances ou d'honnêteté d'esprit.

Comme ce dernier est à peine élu qu'il doit se faire réélire, une année à apprendre le métier (à une assemblée par mois) et une année à ne pas déplaire en préparation de la prochaine élection, il ne peut pas développer vision ni plans de grande haleine.

Alors qu'autrefois, notre maire pouvait s'imposer par son prestige, celui d'aujourd'hui n'a de succès que s'il plaît au plus grand nombre; alors qu'autrefois, tous se connaissaient et discutaient la chose publique, aujourd'hui on n'y comprend goutte et tout se fait au milieu de l'apathie générale. Ce n'est qu'après coup que l'opinion se forme.

On comprendra alors que, malgré les articles de la Loi, les plans à longue portée, les changements nécessaires mais impopulaires, la prudence qui prévoit l'avenir, l'urbanisme enfin, sauf dans son plus patent, sera laissé de coté.

D'autres raisons s'ajoutent aux précédentes. Ainsi, le cycle familial est changé; alors que les générations se suivaient sur la même terre dans la même petite ville, source d'enracinement et de continuité, le jeune couple d'aujourd'hui, souvent appelé à se transporter où son travail le mène, s'installe d'abord dans un appartement. S'il rêve d'une maison pour élever sa famille, il en

changera volontiers et l'idée d'y voir ses enfants la prendre à leur tour n'y entre pas. Quant ceux-ci quittent la maison, le vieux couple retourne à l'appartement.

Devant ce cycle jugé normal aujourd'hui, comment le citoyen peut-il s'intéresser à fond à son milieu? Une chose prime: les taxes sont toujours trop élevées.

Un autre phénomène vient aussi rendre désuet les diverses prescriptions qui auraient pu permettre un sain urbanisme. C'est la forme même des agglomérations. Finis sont les villes et villages éloignés en temps sinon en distances, que de nombreuses fermes séparaient. L'automobile a commencé par en faire des voisins rapprochés et bientôt la banlieue se peuplant, les villes sont venues à se toucher, formant des conurbations ou de véritables grappes de villes, chacune farouchement individualiste (projection de l'esprit de ses citoyens) malgré les problèmes communs, et de solution économique, s'ils étaient traités au niveau régional.

Le Mémoire reconnait qu'il existe dans les lois en vigueur presque tout ce qu'il faut pour échafauder un milieu sain. Mais à la suite d'une étude poussée de la construction depuis les dernières années on remarque:

> "Il faut avouer que l'accroissement urbain des dix dernières années manque de caractère. La médiocrité et la laideur sont générales dans les villes de la Province de Québec. Dans les petites agglomérations urbaines, l'absence de commodités et la généralisation d'un développement désordonné, sans caractère et sans aménité est saisissante. Dans les centres moyens, la qualité du développement est à peine supérieure; dans les grands centres, elle est inférieure aux petits et moyens centres urbains."
>
> "Il n'y a pas ou presque pas eu de prévoyance dans l'aménagement du milieu urbain. On ne s'est pas tracé d'objectif dans le développement urbain; rien dans l'exercice de la fonction traditionnelle, bien établie des municipalités pour façonner et encourager le développement urbain. Et ceci n'est pas au fond une question de finance municipale mais une attitude devant une fonction importante du gouvernement local."

Le Mémoire ayant relevé scientifiquement ce qui précède en vient à constater que si fondamentalement il y a dans les statuts ce qu'il faut pour progresser dans l'ordre de la Santé, du Bonheur et de la Beauté, la procédure pour y arriver n'est pas adéquate.

"(a) l'absence d'autorité clairement exprimée du Département des Affaires Municipales pour exercer une surveillance sur le développement urbain et rural dans la Province est cause de l'inefficacité des efforts du service Provincial d'Urbanisme devant l'inertie des Municipalités petites ou grandes;

(b) l'absence de procédure au niveau du Gouvernement Provincial permettant la coordination des divers ministères concernés dans le développement urbain et rural est cause d'un manque d'intégration des efforts municipaux avec les intentions du gouvernement dans les travaux publics;

(c) l'absence de procédure quand à la coordination des fonctions municipales qui touchent au développement urbain entre les municipalités voisines rurales et urbaines a été la cause d'un déséquilibre dans l'aménagement des nécessités premières dans la périphérie des milieux urbains formés de deux ou plusieurs municipalités;

(d) l'absence de direction concentrée au niveau du Gouvernement Provincial touchant les questions qui portent sur le développement urbain dans les endroits qui ne relèvent pas de la juridiction des municipalités a eu comme résultat un développement considérable mais désordonné le long des grandes routes et dans les endroits remarquables par leur beauté naturelle;

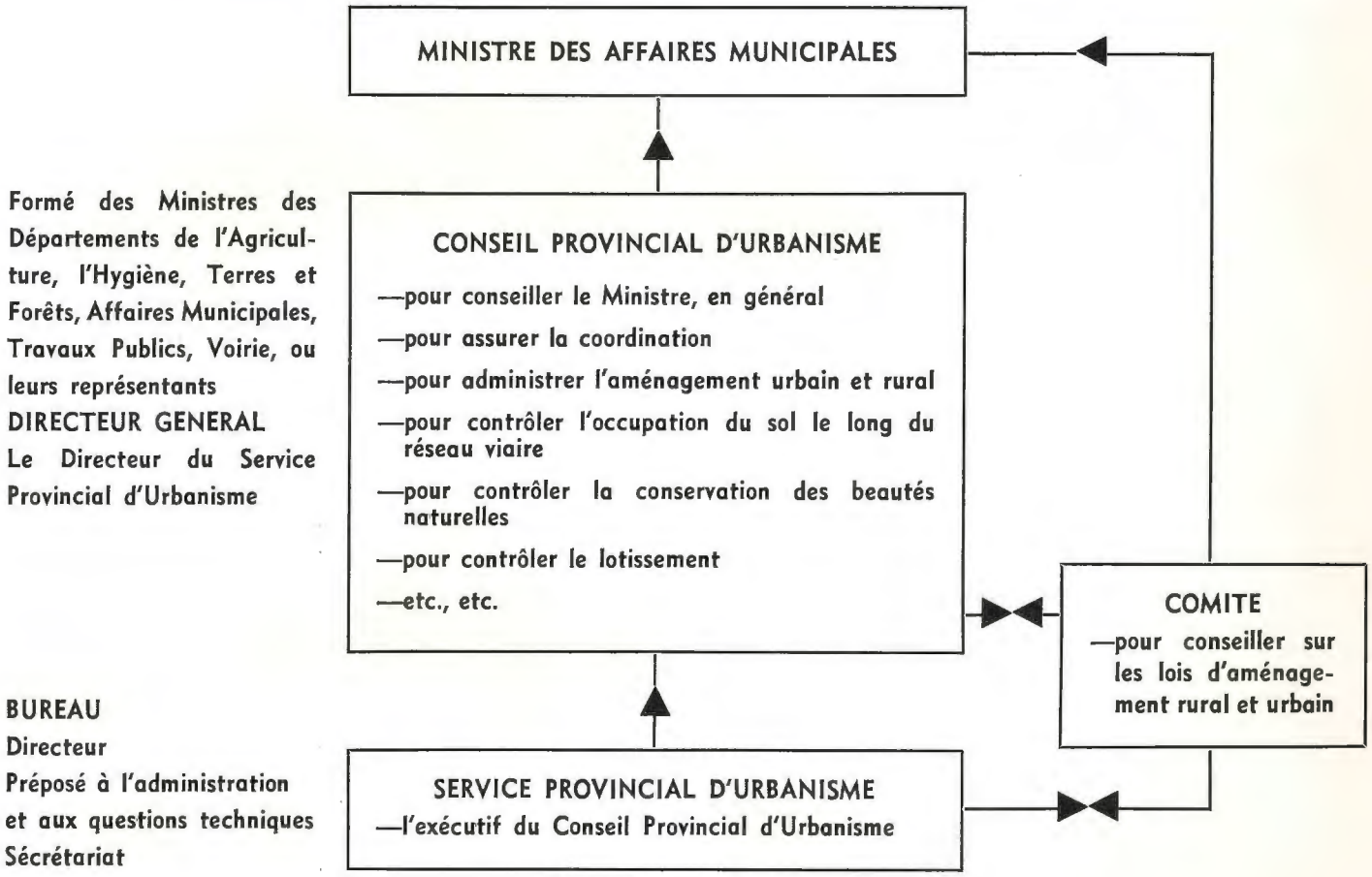
(e) l'absence de direction touchant la préparation, l'approbation et la mise en œuvre de plans à été la cause de projets sans envergure, échafaudés sur des idées de peu de valeur du point de vue technique et administratif;

(f) l'absence de contrôle suffisant sur les subdivisions est cause d'un lotissement mal réparti et trop serré."

Le Mémoire fait remarquer qu'il n'est pas question d'imiter les autres Provinces mais, qu'au contraire, une loi spéciale est nécessaire, justement pour sauvegarder les besoins particuliers de la Province de Québec. Il faut la coordination complète du Gouvernement pour parvenir à un développement urbain et rural dans l'ordre, efficient et imaginatif. C'est l'héritage de la Province que le Gouvernement a le devoir de sauvegarder, et le Mémoire fait les recommandations qui suivent et qu'il faut citer en entier:

> "Que le Gouvernement Provincial doit entreprendre le contrôle de l'aménagement urbain et rural dans la Province au plus tôt:
>
> Ministre des Affaires Municipales.
>
> 1. En donnant au Ministre des Affaires Municipales le droit d'exercer un contrôle sur l'aménagement urbain et rural par toute la Province et ce, comme fonction spécifique et compréhensive des affaires municipales;
>
> Conseil Provincial d'Urbanisme.
>
> 2. en créant un Conseil Provincial d'Urbanisme, formé des Ministres des Départements de l'Agriculture, de la Santé, des Terres et Forêts, des Affaires Municipales, des Travaux Publics, de la Voirie ou leurs représentants;
>
> Les fonctions du Conseil doivent être:
>
> (a) faire des recommandations au Ministre des Affaires Municipales touchant les lois d'aménagement urbain et rural, la procédure à suivre, l'administration en général;
>
> (b) assurer la coordination entre les départements du Gouvernement Provincial, les Municipalités et l'Entreprise Privée quant au développement des ressources naturelles, l'accroissement du réseau viaire, les nécessités de l'hygiène, de l'éducation, et de l'aide sociale et tout ce qui touche au développement urbain et rural;
>
> (c) administrer l'aménagement urbain et rural dans la Province;
>
> (d) exercer un contrôle sur la conservation des beautés naturelles;

Diagramme montrant la délégation de l'autorité tel que recommandé


MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES MUNICIPALES
Formé des Ministres des Départements de l'Agriculture, l'Hygiène, Terres et Forêts, Affaires Municipales, Travaux Publics, Voirie, ou leurs représentants
DIRECTEUR GENERAL
Le Directeur du Service Provincial d'Urbanisme
CONSEIL PROVINCIAL D'URBANISME
—pour conseiller le Ministre, en général
—pour assurer la coordination
—pour administrer l'aménagement urbain et rural
—pour contrôler l'occupation du sol le long du réseau viaire
—pour contrôler la conservation des beautés naturelles
—pour contrôler le lotissement
—etc., etc.
COMITE
—pour conseiller sur les lois d'aménagement rural et urbain
BUREAU
Directeur
Préposé à l'administration et aux questions techniques
Sécrétariat
SERVICE PROVINCIAL D'URBANISME
—l'exécutif du Conseil Provincial d'Urbanisme

(e) exercer un contrôle sur l'occupation du sol le long des grandes routes en dehors de la juridiction des municipalités urbaines;

(f) exercer un contrôle sur le lotissement du sol en général;

(g) aider l'autorité locale à dresser et mettre en marche ses plans d'aménagement en fournissant l'aide technique et administrative requise;

(h) entreprendre des études techniques ou autres, publier et répandre des études et des renseignements concernant le développement urbain et rural dans la Province;

(i) faire approuver par le public les fins et objets de l'aménagement urbain et rural.

Service Provincial d'Urbanisme.

3. En changeant l'état et les fonctions du Service Provincial d'Urbanisme du Ministère des Affaires Municipales de sorte qu'il devienne l'exécutif du Conseil Provincial d'Urbanisme.

4. En faisant nommer par le Ministre des Affaires Municipales un comité d'experts en droit, en administration, en urbanisme pour le conseiller sur les questions législatives, administratives et techniques que comporte la préparation d'une loi d'urbanisme pour les villes et la campagne dans la Province de Québec.

A cet effet, le Comité devrait étudier plus particulièrement les points suivants:

(a) l'aménagement urbain devrait être une fonction obligatoire du gouvernement local;

(b) les fonctions de l'aménagement dans les milieux urbains ou il y a deux autorités municipales ou plus devraient être assumées conjointement par les municipalités ou, si nécessaire par un organisme régional ou métropolitain;

(c) les fonctions de l'aménagement dans les municipalités urbaines et rurales qui sont incapables d'exercer leurs responsabilités administratives ou financières devraient être assumées au bénéfice de ces municipalités par le Ministre des Affaires Municipales ou par un organisme régional ou métropolitain;

(d) le processus d'aménagement au niveau municipal, municipal-groupe, régional ou métropolitain devrait entraîner;

(i) la désignation du Territoire à être aménagé par le Ministre;

(ii) la préparation d'un plan d'aménagement basé sur un développement urbain raisonnable de 5 ans;

(iii) l'approbation du plan par le Ministre avant qu'il n'entre en opération;

(e) des mesures devraient être inscrites pour la revision et la modification des plans d'aménagement tous les 5 ans;

(f) les rouages appropriés devraient être développés afin d'en appeler au Ministère des Affaires Municipales des décisions des responsables de l'aménagement;

(g) le lotissement dans l'intention d'un aménagement urbain devrait être contrôlé rigoureusement surtout en ce qui concerne;

(i) la restriction de la subdivision du sol physiquement impropre à l'aménagement urbain ou tellement en avance d'un développement urbain qu'il deviendrait un fardeau financier et administratif pour la municipalité;

(ii) l'établissement de normes minima;

(iii) la cession de terrains pour fins publique;

(iv) la revision de la procédure préparatoire à l'enregistrement des lotissements selon la Loi du Cadastre;

(h) les procédures concernant l'homologation du sol pour les rues ou autres places publiques devraient être simplifiées et rendues plus efficaces afin de rendre plus utile cet instrument remarquable du développement urbain;

(i) les procédures concernant le contrôle de l'aménagement du sol devraient mettre en valeur les méthodes de zonage et de contrôle de l'apparence des bâtisses afin de contribuer à l'esthétique urbaine;

(j) les responsabilités actuellement partagées par les autres services ayant trait au développement urbain en dehors des limites municipales devraient tomber sous la juridiction du Ministre des Affaires Municipales spécialement en ce qui concerne;

(i) le contrôle requis sur le développement du sol adjacent aux grandes routes reconnues;

(ii) le contrôle requis sur le développement et la conservation de la valeur des sites d'une grande beauté naturelle spécialement de long des cours d'eau de la Province et dans les endroits favorisés d'une vue spectaculaire.

5. Que le Gouvernement Provincial devrait prendre charge de l'entraînement du personnel préposé à l'urbanisme en donnant des bourses permettant de suivre les cours d'urbanisme aux écoles reconnues au Canada ou ailleurs, et fournir le moyen pour ceux déjà dans la pratique d'assister à des cours de perfectionnement."

Le diagramme illustre clairement la responsabilité dans l'organisation, puis le dernier mot que voici:

"Pour terminer, ces recommandations sont déposées devant la Commission Royale à cause du besoin urgent d'améliorer le développement urbain en prenant les mesures qui s'imposent pour l'aménagement urbain et rural dans la Province de Québec. En ce faisant, il faut espérer que les coutumes légales et administratives du Québec seront conservées et qu'on évitera d'employer des moyens techniques et administratifs étrangers aux traditions du Québec. C'est seulement de cette façon que l'on trouvera le moyen acceptable et pratique pour améliorer l'aménagement urbain et ajouter à l'héritage et au renom de cette Province."

Puisse ce pieux souhait se réaliser au plut tôt. Les recommandations du mémoire sont le fruit d'une longue étude faite sur le milieu du Québec par des spécialistes bien au courant de ce qu'il représente et soucieux d'en conserver la substance. Devant un éveil des citoyens face à la laideur qui s'érige autour d'eux, le législateur hésitera-t-il longtemps avant de donner à sa Province la Loi d'Urbanisme qui la sauvera de la vulgarité avilissante?

Mr. Armstrong was from 1946 to 1952 Secretary and Executive Director of the Community Planning Association of Canada. He is now Assistant General Supervisor of the Public Housing Division of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (the housing agency of the Government of Canada). The views set out are those of the author, not the Corporation. These notes appear because there has so far been more curiosity about Canadian redevelopment legislation than use of it. The new prominence given to urban renewal in imported papers prompts a look at all the native means we could enlist for the purpose.

FEDERAL AIDS TO URBAN REPAIR AND REPLACEMENT

by Alan H. Armstrong

To Canadian municipal government, the planning agency is a newcomer. It arrived at a time when we were busy adding workspace and family living space around the city and increasing the supply of primary resources for the city. The urban agency's main tasks had to do with land subdivision and utility extensions in the suburbs. The regional agency dealt with the location of extractive plant and transport facilities in the countryside. Preoccupied with building on new land, the planning agency could easily forget that the great bulk of our urban property still stands in areas long built up.[1]

Some of our municipalities are now turning greater attention to those older areas. Which of them call for changes of use, and how can such changes be made with least pain? What old areas are better left to their established functions, and how can those functions be better served? Need the existing structures be replaced, or can they be salvaged for continued use? What statutory aids can be enlisted to ease the change of use, the replacement of worn-out buildings, or the improvement of older buildings for their present uses? These notes attempt a survey of the different ways in which our standing stock of residential buildings can be repaired or replaced, with special reference to the National Housing Act of 1954.[2]

Our present national housing legislation contains a number of measures for the improvement of sound existing buildings and for the clearance and redevelopment of sub-standard areas. This new care for old cities is not peculiar to Canadian legislators. The American housing debates of 1954 dwelt long on ways to encourage the restoration of old neighbourhoods. New public housing is now provided in the United States solely as an adjunct of "urban renewal".[3] In Britain, the government introduced a statement of its housing policy in November 1953 with these observations:

> "The target which the Government set themselves . . . was the completion in Great Britain of 300,000 new houses a year. New houses are already being built at that rate . . . Housing conditions depend also on maintaining the houses built before the war; on overtaking the repair work which has been neglected . . . ; on keeping the structurally sound houses in good order; on improving those which lack modern amenities and making better use of them, e.g. by converting . . . those which are too big for one family under modern conditions; and finally on demolishing and replacing as soon as possible those which are unfit for human habitation and cannot be made fit at reasonable expense."[4]

Legislation was adopted in all three countries to step up the rate of residential property improvement and replacement. How much were Canadians spending in that direction without special stimulus? In 1953, some $290 million were spent on improvement and maintenance of residential buildings, as compared with some $1086 million for new housing.[5] Conversion of existing buildings to add new dwellings in them has produced at least 60,000 units since 1941.[6] The proportion of urban

[1]See for example the maps to uniform scale showing post-war extension of a dozen major Canadian cities, reproduced in *Problems of Canadian City Growth* published by Community Planning Association of Canada in 1950. See also some indications of the cost of extension in *A Case for Satellite Towns*, published by CPAC in 1953.

[2]2-3 Elizabeth II, Chapter 23.

[3]U.S. Housing Act of 1954 as signed by President Eisenhower August 2; see *New York Times* July 21, July 29, August 3, 1954.

[4]White Paper entitled *Houses: the Next Step* (Cmd. 8996) 1953.

[5]Canada. Dept. of Trade & Commerce. *Private and Public Investment in Canada. Outlook 1954.* The National Production Authority in the U.S. estimates that in 1952 about $5 billion was put into alterations and additions to existing dwellings, as against about $10 billion into new ones.

[6]Author's estimate, based on *Housing in Canada* (CMHC) and other data.

dwellings without bathtubs declined from about 23% in 1941 to about 17% in 1951.[7] Old houses are condemned and demolished by hundreds in our cities; many of them make way for new construction. Their value is a slight part of the estimated $450 million a year by which our residential capital depreciates.[8]

Plainly these efforts at improvement are not enough. Too many superannuated houses remain occupied. Apart from about 750,000 post-war houses, the average age of our urban dwellings is well over 40 years. A few centres in the older provinces contain a majority of houses over fifty years of age. Treatment on the spot is urgent, unless we accept a city whose people keep migrating outward: unless we want communities like poor apples, shiny on the outside but rotting near the core. More vigorous steps to salvage old property are bound to loom large in any effective planning in the years ahead.

CONSERVATION, CONVERSION AND PRESERVATION

The textbook treatment for a blighted area has long been to acquire it publicly, destroy the old buildings, and create public housing in their place.[9] Lately it has seemed better to blend this radical process with milder palliatives under an omnibus label: the phrase "urban renewal" has been coined for the purpose. Renewal includes, in addition to outright purchase and clearance of problem areas, a whole range of less drastic slum preventives, many of them long employed in hit-or-miss fashion.

The difference now is that the milder palliatives are being advocated for systematic public application. These alternative treatments for slums are thus taking a greater place in the context of community planning, and may well be listed here with the credit resources for each.

To begin with, there is *conservation,* which any owner may engage in without the property changing ownership, basic habitability or occupancy. He anticipates that his building will continue to serve as before, probably because its old use still prevails around it. In Canada he may finance the work out of his own savings or with funds advanced by the suppliers of building materials.

The property may be in a district where the children of the original residents have grown up, where houses are larger than are now required, where tax increases make single-family occupancy unlikely, where desirable family facilities have not been maintained, or where hazards for child-raising have crept in. In that case occupancies are likely to be brief, and between occupancies the owner may resort to *conversion* of his property. This will result in additional dwellings for childless families or for groups of unrelated single persons. Some part of the property may be turned into professional offices or local manufacturing or retailing, depending on what the community wants and permits. Unlike conservation, conversion implies interruption of occupancy and intensification of use; it sometimes involves change of ownership.

Conversion sponsored by a limited dividend company, for low rentals, may be financed under Section 16 of the National Housing Act of 1954. If additional housing units are made by the conversion, it may be financed with a "home conversion loan" insured under Part I of the same Act (where the property is not to be encumbered by any prior loan). Financial aid may come under Part IV of the Act (without disturbing existing encumbrances) in the form of a "home extension loan".

A special case is the *preservation* of a structure of outstanding architectural or historic merit. Such buildings do not often lend themselves to resumption of their old use, so they are commonly turned to some other purpose that will not harm them. Nearly every community has its landmarks of this kind. Provincial and Federal funds as well as private gifts have been given towards some of them. The planning authority's part may be to help to identify such places, to support those who are vocal for their preservation, and to allow suitable new uses, not forgetting an appropriate setting for the venerable pile.

REHABILITATION: COMMERCIAL AND OTHERWISE

In addition to conservation, preservation and conversion, there is another treatment for unsatisfactory housing short of demolition. It has come to be known as *rehabilitation.* This process is most likely to be adopted where the shells of old residential buildings are structurally sound, and where they stand in an area suitable for continuing residential use, but are below acceptable standards as to weather-tightness, infestability, equipment or internal arrangement. Rehabilitation is easier in some American cities than in most of ours, for a number of reasons. Rows of masonry houses make up their older districts. These houses are owned by professional landlords and each house has an area suitable for a modern family. Ethnic groups (notably negroes) have often had to stay in these districts, while their wages—and therefore their ability to pay rent—have increased. Credit for home improvements is readily available under federal housing acts. There is often a time lag between property

[7] Comparison of returns, Eighth Census and Ninth Census of Canada.

[8] O. J. Firestone, *Residential Real Estate in Canada,* U. of Toronto Press, 1951.

[9] An early instance of the argument that it is cheaper to remove bad sanitary conditions than to remedy the resultant ill health occurs in the Report of the (British) Poor Law Commissioners for 1838. A Bill for the compulsory taking of slum property passed through the House of Lords in 1841 but died when the Government resigned. See J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury* and *The Bleak Age.*

improvement and property tax increase. Thus rehabilitation can become attractive to commercial landlords as well as to building contractors. Tenants can be found who will pay substantially higher rents provided an old property is improved in quality; often those tenants are already in it.

Rehabilitation has also been undertaken with other motives than as an investment or a market for building enterprise. Long journeys to work have led some professional men to fix up old housing within walking distance of the scenes of their unclocked labours. In some places, this sort of example has made old downtown quarters fashionable once more.

In other places, the strong urban and nostalgic flavour of the old town houses and streets has drawn people of particular tastes—perhaps artists, writers, musicians, even architects—to paint the exteriors, remould the interiors, and inhabit them, despite some inconvenience, out of a kind of Bohemian affection. In a few cases charitable foundations or quasi-public bodies have sponsored rehabilitation either to study its possibilities or because outright clearance of the slums that concerned them was beyond their given competence and resources.

PUBLIC AIDS TO REHABILITATION

Rehabilitation is often urged as a politically preferable alternative to wholesale public treatment of derelict housing. But champions of rehabilitation have learned nonetheless to lean upon certain public props. Rehabilitation is better for all concerned if carried solidly throughout an area, so that all landlords and owner-occupants act in concert. This calls for a by-law setting out minimum standards of habitability and a municipal staff for its enforcement. The by-law will be heralded by propaganda about the unhealthy state of existing housing; partisans of rehabilitation have drawn liberally for this purpose on studies prepared by public housing authorities.

Law-enforced area-wide rehabilitation soon results in the displacement of some families, either because they are over-crowded by newly codified standards, or because they do not earn enough to meet the higher rent following improvement of their quarters. Rehabilitation can go on successfully for any length of time only if such families can go to publicly-supported relocation agencies, and if subsidized public housing is made available to them. Where rehabilitation works well, it is often precisely because a public housing authority has surveyed and documented the need and can offer relief accommodation. This is in fact the Baltimore Plan.

The record on rehabilitation has sometimes been obscured. We are assured that enforced area-wide rehabilitation succeeds, and an achievement of 'fashionable' refurbishing is quoted as evidence. Or we are told that rehabilitation can be city-wide and lucrative while being shown a fragment of affectionate whimsy with paint.

Area being cleared by Baltimore Redevelopment Commission under U.S. Housing Act of 1949 for expansion of Johns Hopkins Hospital; these houses are quite as sound as many that are being rehabilitated by direction of the City's Housing Bureau, but it is the pressure for a change of land use that pointed to clearance here. *Photo by the author*

But partisan claims aside, there is more to be said for systematic improvement of our existing stock of housing than we have been ready to hear.

UNASSISTED REDEVELOPMENT

These milder improvements succeed with building carcases so suitable in location, condition and space arrangement as to warrant the expense of improvement for their original use. Once a site gains evident value for distinctly new purposes, houses on it will be cleared away no matter how structurally sound they may be. This has been the normal piece-meal process of private *redevelopment* in North American cities.

The Canadian urban population has multiplied a dozen times since Confederation; thus in long-established cities the central-area functions of commerce and administration have spilled outward where otherwise hundreds of century-old houses would still stand.

This outward march of private redevelopment was uneven, because it proceeded parcel-by-parcel according to the needs and means of individual firms, and in sectors dictated by existing streets and established property values. Occasional small parcels, sometimes whole segments, were ruined for residential use yet were left unwanted by the newer commercial buyers. In these left-over properties appeared the wanton untidiness and disrepair known as blight. The turn of events that suddenly checked the rate of growth of our downtown areas has been fully described for readers of these pages.[10]

[10]Leonard Gertler, "*The Economic Problems of Urban Redevelopment*", published in the COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, Volume I, Nos. 1 and 2.

Row houses refurbished and converted to row duplexes in southwest Washington, D.C., by private commercial landlord. Rent per square foot steeply increased to amortize costs.

Photo by W. S. Goulding

Merchants' houses of the Federal period in the Georgetown quarter of Washington are restored and re-equipped as fashionable addresses.

Photo by the author

In a very direct sense, the arrival of the skeleton-frame office tower with elevators, the motor-truck and the suburban assembly-line factory was also the arrival of the North American sub-central slum.

These old residential properties, long deemed ripe for transformation into business quarters, frequently changed hands at prices reflecting that rosy anticipation. And because our municipal assessments must follow the real estate market, the taxes on such houses got far beyond what their occupants could afford. Perhaps in the belief that these areas would not long remain residential, municipal provision of schools, playgrounds, sanitary and other residential services was neglected, making still further inroads into the livability of these neighbourhoods. The necessary consequence of high land costs, high taxes, poor civic service and low rent per family were bound to be skimpy building maintenance. This is the main characteristic of those downtown streets not taken over for private rebuilding by business firms.

REASONS FOR DIRECT PUBLIC ACTION

The social burdens of large blighted areas are evidently staggering. Attempts have been made abroad to measure these costs, and we may hope soon to have our own testimony in Canada. These wastes are at the heart of the case for public slum clearance, but the account must be rendered by those properly qualified for it.

Selective demolition plus extensive improvements to remaining houses within the Temple redevelopment area of Philadelphia; the work was financed by the Quakers and directed by architect Oscar Stonorov. Cost of rehabilitation plus higher taxes on renewed properties put them almost out of reach of the intended tenants.

Photo by the author

Transit improvements in Baltimore left an isolated group of old houses convenient to central area; since 1945 they have been bought and renovated gaily by artists and writers to form a pseudo-Bohemian (but air-conditioned and electronic) colony.

Photo by the author

The origin of slum conditions in the older cities of Europe and the United States was chiefly the compression of many people into small areas, so that they could be close to their work before the days of mechanical transport. The results were, and still are, appalling: the Gorbals in Glasgow, for example, contain many blocks in which 600 or 700 people live upon each acre of land. The first remedy is to supply housing off the crowded site for enough families so that the rest can have tolerable elbow room where they are. New housing, whether on or off the site, must rent at rates within the means of the existing tenants. Arranging mass migrations to new housing let at low rents is clearly a matter for public intervention.

The blighting of our younger cities took place differently. Electricity and the automobile permitted people to do urban work over wider areas and to live farther from their work-places. Our substandard areas are not the result of compression, so much as of sudden release from compression. Our slums are as often blighted by unpopularity as by over-populousness. This different history has its implications. Existing neighbourhood facilities may not be so overloaded as in slum areas of the old world. One argument for public redevelopment in these days of heavy municipal outlay stems directly from this: that inside the town the Council can deliberately re-use what in the suburbs it must fashion afresh. But to re-organize the use of old districts some land-owner

Typical street in the Regent Park area of Toronto, where clearance aid under National Housing Act was first invoked.

Photo by Robert Turnbull of CMHC

Rear walls of Regent Park houses were commonly finished with stucco, much of it now in ruins.

Photo by Robert Turnbull of CMHC

must gain control of large tracts. Whether the problem is to compensate for lucrative present exploitation (as abroad) or to pay off the bad bets of the past (as here), it is clear that this land assembler must be a public one.[11]

Those in the blighted area are victims of circumstance for which no-one is ready to take the blame. Possibly previous Councils made bad guesses about central-area growth or allowed municipal cost-paring down-town; perhaps another generation were glad to see immigrants go to the "foreign section" and to benefit from the very technological changes that were the undoing of near-central districts. If so, then sooner or later the community as a whole must put matters right.

The key to the restoration of these rejected wards lies in abandoning the forlorn hope of "higher use", and in writing land values and tax levies back down to levels in tune with the kinds of land use actually prevailing and likely to prevail. The alternative is further deterioration of the slums, with all the danger to the community en-

[11]In 1947 the Regent Park area of Toronto still contained some of the original settlers' one-story stucco cottages; there were not quite 20 families (about 85 persons) living on each gross acre of the site. The redevelopment now being completed results in residential density of over 30 families per acre. This higher density arises in part from the exclusion of certain non-residential uses from the area; but even more because the City favoured three-story apartments over most of the site, with some row houses and some elevator apartments, in place of the former terraces and semi-detached houses.

Photo: Courtesy of The Housing Authority of Toronto

New apartments built by City of Toronto Housing Authority in North section of Regent Park. There are elevator apartments and row houses as well as these walk-ups. Province of Ontario subsidized construction.

Photo by the author

tailed in urban neglect. The fairest way to write off artificial values, without hardship to more or less innocent persons, seems to be to take the property publicly at a price somehow related to its inflated taxable value, and then to get rid of the pestilence, and resell the cleared land in a market conversant with the true present-day prospects of the site.

FORCED TRANSFERS BETWEEN PRIVATE OWNERS

North American redevelopment legislation thus began by authorizing a public body to deflate artificial values in obsolete property and to arrange for more suitable land use. This was to be done by expropriating run-down blocks, demolishing what was beyond repair, attaching conditions to what remained, and then re-selling. This type of transaction at a deliberate public loss is authorized by most of the State redevelopment legislation in America. It is also contemplated in Section 16A of the Planning Act of Ontario, under which an area east of Yonge Street and north of Carlton Street in Toronto has been designated a "redevelopment area".

While the principle is direct, the safeguards that have grown up to avoid abuse of power and to minimize public cost in this type of transaction are complicated indeed. Elaborate procedures are set out in American legislation, often embracing the items in Appendix A.

This kind of deal could entail forcibly taking land from one private owner, to convey it at public expense for the gain of another private owner. There have been vigorous objections. American courts have usually held that the removal of conditions prejudicial to public health was a purpose sufficient to warrant that kind of step. But they want to be sure that the evil could not have been eliminated without forcible change of land ownership, and that the new disposition of the ownerships will be such as to cut the risk of blight occurring once more. A recent judgement gives this warning.:

> "If property is seized for the purpose of eliminating or preventing slums within the limitations and in accordance with the rules we have described, the fact that it may be sold subsequently to private persons does not vitiate the validity of the seizure."

But again:

> "We hold that Congress did not in the Redevelopment Act confer power to seize property beyond the reasonable necessities of slum clearance and prevention . . . One man's land cannot be seized by the Government and sold to another man merely in order that the purchaser may build upon it . . . a house which better meets the Government's idea of what is appropriate or well-designed."[12]

It was partly because the processes became so involved and specialized that separate local Redevelopment Agencies, with unique powers to borrow money and acquire land, were provided for in many of the State redevelopment laws. In 1949, the United States Housing Act was extended to authorize temporary federal loans for study and planning, for property acquisition and public improvements in slum areas, and to authorize outright federal grants of two-thirds of the losses sustained by local agencies in slum clearance operations. The assisted redevelopment had to result in a majority of the land being made available for residential use; and since by this time local redevelopment agencies separate from the local housing authorities were provided for in most States, the federal loan and grant legislation was drawn with a view to dealing primarily with those agencies. The Housing and Home Finance Agency describes its requirements for slum clearance aid in a loose-leaf manual for local agencies; by 1954 that manual has become a two-volume work of some 475 pages.

PUBLIC ACQUISITION FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES

In Canada, our national redevelopment laws have sought to avoid forced transfers as between private owners, by giving aid to clearance only where the cleared land would serve defined public purposes. The Sub-committee on Housing and Community Planning of the federal government's advisers on post-war reconstruction recommended in March of 1944 that grants be made to municipalities for advance planning of slum clearance programs. The Sub-committee apparently took for granted that these efforts would result in low rental housing. To finance such housing under local public management, the Sub-committee urged long-term federal loans; and believing that even cheap credit would not bring rents low enough, they also recommended annual federal subsidies to local housing authorities.[13]

Under this arrangement, there would have been no need to write down the land cost before capitalizing it into the rental project: high initial land cost would be reflected in higher annual deficits which would be met out of the same public purse in the end. The difference between federal housing subvention on first costs of the project site and annual federal subventions to meet operating losses would have been a bookkeeping difference only, with advantages of adjustability in favour of annual payments.

When Parliament passed the National Housing Act of 1944, however, private purchasers of cleared land were indicated: life insurance companies or limited dividend housing companies were to agree to buy cleared sites from municipalities, and to build on them "low-cost or moderate-cost rental housing projects" financed under other provisions of the same Act. Since these projects were feasible only on cheap land, the companies could agree to take a cleared site from a municipality only at a price which spelled severe loss to the municipality. Section 12 of the 1944 Act authorized the Minister of Finance, under stated conditions, to meet half that loss out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada if the municipality with the support or approval of its province would meet the other half. No provision was made for loans for advance surveys and planning. In the event, no slum land was ever bought by a municipality and sold to a private company as contemplated in the 1944 Act.[14]

USE OF THE CLEARED AREA

Why did our post-war clearance legislation assume rebuilding primarily for residential purposes? Partly it was thought that other new uses for blighted land could pay their own way or at all events meet their losses out of funds other than the national housing appropriations. In practice, unassisted commercial buyers can rarely gain control of a blighted tract with the location, shape and

[12]U.S. District Court, District of Columbia: *Goldie Schneider v. District of Columbia et al.*, and *Max R. Morris v. District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, et al.* November 5, 1953.

[13]Canada. Advisory Committee on Reconstruction. Sub-committee on Housing and Community Planning. *Report* ("the Curtis Report"). Ottawa, King's Printer, 1944. The Sub-committee placed the number of houses beyond repair and needing replacement in the 14 largest cities at 175,000. Authoritative estimates more recently have reduced the figure. Many unfit houses are not in concentrated sub-standard areas susceptible of governmental action.

[14]The loss sustained by the City of Toronto in selling the Regent Park (North) area to the Toronto Housing Authority was shared federally under the terms of the 1944 Act because the Authority was deemed to be a limited dividend company.

access they require, even at high cost. When they can, they have no confidence about its surroundings. Municipalities are either unwilling or unable to buy housing, take responsibility for relocating its occupants and then put the site to other uses, no matter how essential. Yet conversion of near-central lands to better private and municipal uses does proceed vigorously, once present residents can be relocated and confidence in the orderly future of the whole area can be established. Some of the other uses depend on the amount and pattern of rehousing, for it is the starter for redevelopment; our 1944 legislation would have made housing virtually the whole substance of redevelopment.

American slum clearance up to 1941 was often undertaken for the opposite reason. Whereas Parliament in 1944 said "we will help you clear a slum if you put the land to housing", Congress in 1937 said in effect "we will help put up new low rental housing if you can show that you have knocked down an equal amount of bad housing". In the depression years, vacant housing eased relocation, and the Americans had this direct way of showing that public housing made a marked improvment in living conditions in their cities. It was often necessary to acquire dilapidated houses by condemnation to qualify for federal housing aid; and their former sites being cleared for re-use, it was natural that new public housing was planned for that ground. What below the border became a frequent though not fore-ordained sequence of events, Canadian law-makers turned into a statutory prerequisite of clearance aid.

Meanwhile, American practice has changed: since 1946 so many houses have been knocked down for freeways, commercial expansion and other causes that it was less necessary for the city to go out and buy unfit housing to qualify for a low rental program under the 1949 Act, which did however retain the "equivalent elimination" requirement. The United States Housing Act of 1954 tightens once more the link between public demolition and public housing, by providing in effect that "you can have a new low rental unit under this Act only for each family dislocated where urban renewal is going on under this Act". This will undoubtedly slow the supply of public housing; but it still does not compel it to go up on cleared slum land.

The pressure on rental housing in our rapidly growing cities has been so great since 1945 that demolition of dwellings by public order for the sake of better housing has proved politically repugnant. Meanwhile demolition does occur for the sake of faster driving, more parking, faster transit or more electricity. The only grants paid under Section 12 of the 1944 Act have been in Toronto, with respect to the 42.5 acres of Regent Park (North). There, some new construction could begin between old houses, owing to low original land coverage and the prior removal of non-residential buildings from the site. The residents did not have to leave the site and live elsewhere during the redevelopment. The scheme was approved by Toronto ratepayers and provincial and federal governments in 1947 and 1948; virtually all the property has now been acquired by the City by negotiation, most of the old houses and other buildings have been destroyed, streets have been closed, and about two-thirds of the intended new housing is occupied.

The taxpayers of Toronto enjoy substantial savings in policing, fire-protection, public health and social assistance resulting from the rebuilding of the area. As to annual rental deficits, they will be materially reduced because of the initial capital grants made to the project: $1,362,000 under the National Housing Act, about $1,289,000 under the Housing Development Act of Ontario, and $1,362,000 by the City. These initial subventions total over $3,100 per dwelling; and under the scheme of financing used they can save the City annual deficits of over $150,000 in each of the 50 years in which the debt will be discharged.

In 1952 the ratepayers re-endorsed the Regent Park (North) scheme, with modifications to produce more new units. A third phase, in the 25 acres to the south of the present site, is under discussion at the time of writing.

PRESENT NATIONAL REDEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION

The local government has zoning and improvement powers with which to create some confidence in the future of a declining area; it can get national assistance to assemble and devalue the land; and since 1949 it has been able to apply for federal-provincial assistance to re-house the dislocated people at subsidized rents.

The public housing clauses (now Section 36 of the National Housing Act) were passed in 1949. If the public housing was built where substandard houses had been torn down, it was not clear whether high land and clearance costs would be dealt with by capital grant to the housing project at the outset (under Section 23) or carried with other project costs over 50 years, and met annually if necessary with other operating losses (under Section 36). This question was fully discussed in the Banking and Commerce Committee of the House of Commons two years ago. Inordinate site purchase and clearance costs, if written off at the outset, are shared equally by federal and local governments; if incorporated into operating accounts of a public housing project, 75% of them would be met by the federal government, and the remainder by provincial and local governments in whatever ratio those two agree on. On the recommendation of the Committee, Parliament amended the Act to make clear that cleared land could be used for public housing, and that excessive site costs should be written off at the outset.

At the Committee's hearings, another inflexibility of the legislation was discussed: all land of which the clearance was federally aided had to be used for low

rental housing—built by a life insurance company, a limited dividend company, or (assuming the above amendment) by a federal-provincial partnership. It was pointed out that overall studies of land use often led to diversion of old housing areas to other purposes. In the end, Parliament said, in effect, "the municipality may assemble and clear blighted areas for whatever it likes, but we will help it meet its losses only on those areas retained in public ownership or re-used for low rental housing; insofar as a city dislocates residents to make way for other uses, it must provide an alternate site for a corresponding number of low rental units".

Thus the amendment frees a city availing itself of national clearance aid from the obligation to petrify its old land use pattern; but it does oblige the city to maintain its ration of residential land, and (by implication) to see to the relocation of dispossessed low income families. If any dispossessed family should have an income above the allowable range for low rental housing, the city may not have to relocate that family; but a new low rental dwelling must nonetheless be built for somebody. Instead of "equivalent elimination" we have "equivalent reconstruction". This greater flexibility puts correspondingly greater responsibilities upon the planning advisers to our larger and older local governments.

PROCEDURE FOR REDEVELOPMENT UNDER THE 1954 HOUSING ACT

The implications of the redevelopment provisions (Part III) of the present Housing Act are: (a) that the amount of grant is based on the lesser of the municipality's prior estimate or its actual net deficit of acquisition, clearance and disposal of land; (b) that a grant is applicable only to private land which now has sub-standard houses on it, or which has blight of other kinds that will yield land predominantly for low rental housing; (c) that the municipality will minimize the hardships of dispossessing and relocating the residents affected, whether they be owners, tenants or lodgers in the area; and (d) that the municipality is making full use of its powers to ensure that deterioration will not soon occur again.

As an earnest of the care it will take in dealing both with people and with public funds, it may be expected that a municipal Council seeking federal redevelopment aid will be thorough in preparing its case for that aid. Such a municipal dossier has been made up somewhat as outlined in Appendix "B".

The application material set out in Appendix "B" may appear to be a formidable array of information to assemble. But urban redevelopment is a formidable, and usually expensive undertaking.[15] The well-staffed local government will have much of this material on hand for other purposes, and its marshalling for this purpose will not then be onerous. The City of St. John's, Newfoundland (population about 60,000) has this year applied successfully for a federal redevelopment grant in substantially the indicated form.

If the federal Minister of Public Works favours a city's clearance proposal, he will seek the authority of the Governor-General in Council to sign an agreement with the municipality, setting out the terms of the grant and the way it will be paid as the work proceeds. It is to be expected that instalments of the federal grant will be forthcoming on demand, as the new structures and improvements are begun upon the site. If a limited dividend company or life insurance company is to build housing, its designs will be completed, its application processed under Section 16 or 19 of the Act, contracts will be let and construction begun before clearance grants are paid. If federal-provincial housing is to be built, a series of agreements will be executed as among the federal Minister, the Province, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the municipality, specifying among other things the site value. Then designs are completed, a local housing authority established and work begun before grants are paid. It is regrettably in the nature of the process that each phase takes some time; final payments are only now due on the clearance grant approved by the federal government in 1948.

Delays and difficulties surround redevelopment in public housing; commonly it takes more than twice as long to complete this operation as it would to create the same number of dwellings on a virgin site.[16] Here is another discouragement to municipal leaders whom we commonly allow a term of office far shorter than the time taken to complete their tasks; Toronto is now governed by the fifth Mayor to be involved in the city's first redevelopment scheme.

PRESENT REACTION AGAINST PUBLIC CLEARANCE

It can now be seen why the people concerned about our slums no longer pin all their faith on orthodox clearance and redevelopment. In the United States, in spite of sizable central and regional staffs, fully prescribed procedures, and local enthusiasm and diligence, it has been calculated that a couple of generations will be needed to deal at the current rate with all the areas now slated for clearance. Those most worried about the dismal living conditions in these areas are apt to seek a quicker way to relieve the misery. Veterans of public housing are thus prominent among the advocates of more rehabilitation and local policing of housing conditions as stop-gaps at the very least. They see that North American society is not prepared to throw public resources into housing soon enough or fast enough; so they

[15]The average gross cost of the first 42 projects approved under the clearance provisions of 1949 U.S. Act was close to $5,100,000. See *Report* of President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs, Exhibit 8. Washington, December 1953.

[16]See Dr. Ronald Bradbury, City Architect of Liverpool on "Some Aspects of Slum Clearance" in *Housing Centre Review* (London) 1954: No. 2 (March-April).

Area slated for clearance in downtown St. John's, Newfoundland. It will be re-used for public housing and traffic improvements. Site cost to be reduced by grant under Section 23 of National Housing Act, new housing to be built under Section 36 of the Act.

Photo: Garland Studio, St. John's

look for both private and public means to repair, to correct and modernize unsatisfactory dwellings in the standing stock.

Some habits and characteristics give special flavour and focus to particular wards within our cities. People sensitive to these local qualities have another reason to hope for the repair instead of the replacement of structures grown old. They have seen that large-scale root-and-branch clearance, followed by doctrinaire construction within the rigid cost and space rules of public housing, can destroy urban charm to substitute barren solid geometry in its place. To salvage a few old buildings may or may not save time and money in the treatment; but it can certainly punctuate the new townscape, and symbolize the deeper history and associations of the place.

The groups identified with public housing have had to re-examine their position and have found that at times they were too ready for drastic clearance, like surgeons "too quick with the knife". Simultaneously, those connected with material supply and financing for home building have seen an important market in rehabilitation and improvement of old structures; and they are beginning to see that restoration of decent standards in the old housing stock must run hand-in-hand with an adequate supply of new low-rental dwellings.

One of the long-term benefits of the alteration of American public housing policy in 1954 will almost certainly be that both "public housers" and "home builders" have had to remove their blinkers and look together at the whole housing stock: old as well as new, sub-central as well as suburban, owner-occupied as well as tenant-occupied. And in harness together they can present more comprehensive solutions, and draw more public notice to them. This will be in marked contrast to the past twenty years, when the layman's picture of how to get enough housing was confused by conflict between the expert factions to whom he might have looked for advice.

SORTING OUT REHABILITATION AND REDEVELOPMENT AREAS

It has been suggested that for rehabilitation there should be sound structures, amenable in location, environmental services and gross floor area for modern family living. The private enterpreneur will estimate his cost of purchase and rehabilitation, appraise what rent the market as a whole will pay for the restored unit, and proceed if he foresees a profit. He need not concern himself with the rent levels which *present* tenants are able to pay. But when the local government initiates rehabilitation—either on its own account as the new owner of old houses, or by enforcement of by-laws imposing standards of habitability upon private owners—then as a public authority it is bound to make some pledge to disturbed residents that they will be looked after. Their rents or debt charges after rehabilitation may be higher than they were before but should not be higher than their incomes will stand.

This means the first steps for government to take in launching a rehabilitation program will be somewhat as follows:

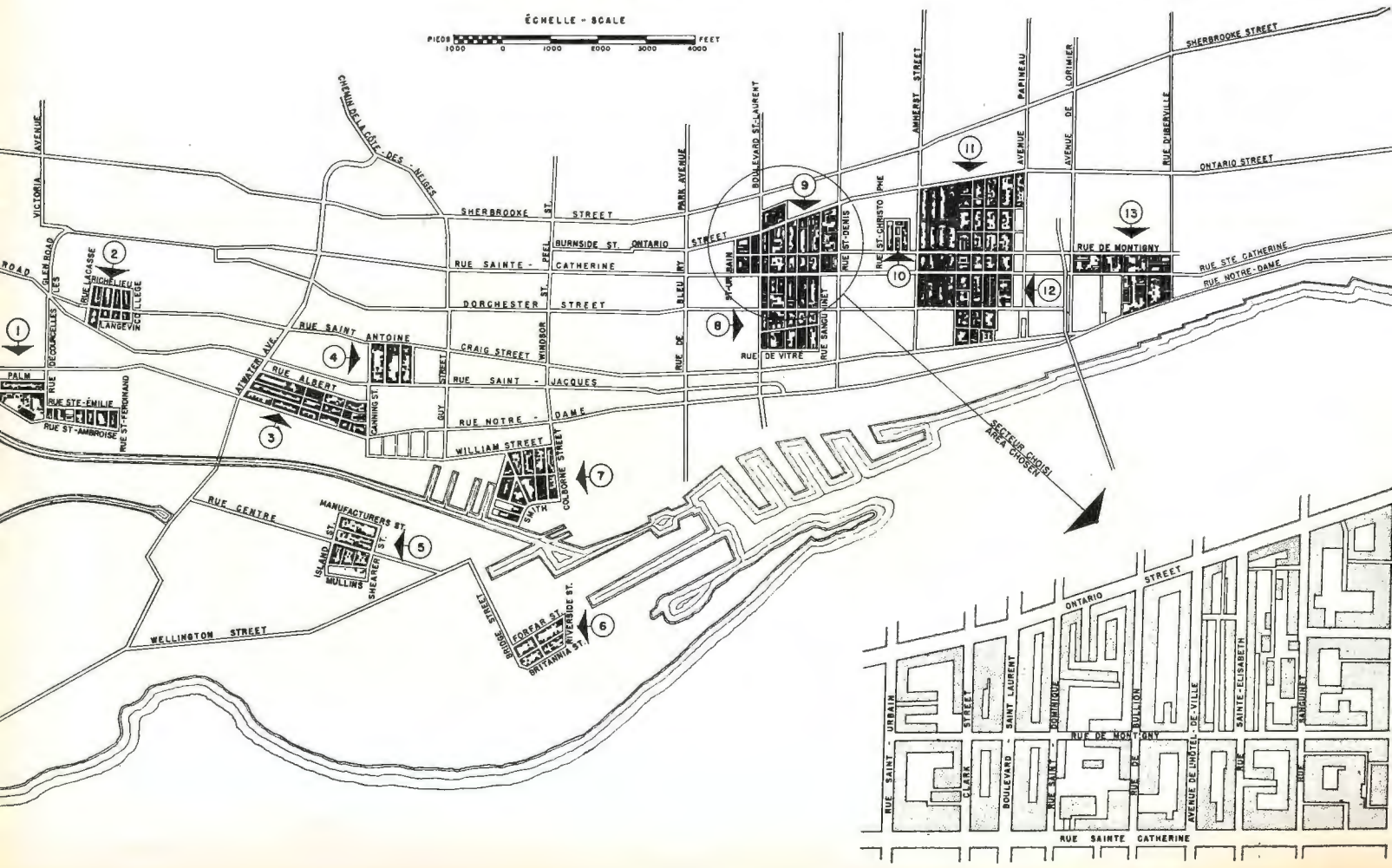
1. **The establishment of clear and enforceable *standards* of habitability in housing.**[17]
2. **A *technical* survey to identify structures susceptible of rehabilitation, to appraise their existing value, to estimate the cost of bringing them to the established standard, and to estimate their useful life after rehabilitation.**
3. **The sponsor must then reckon what *rents* will amortize their total value (as repaired) within their remaining life-span employing whatever credit is available to their owners.**
4. **A *social* survey of the households now living in recoverable dwellings, to reveal their incomes, age and sex compositions, occupations and work-places, so as to see how many of these households will find that the renovated space meets their needs, and among those, how many could afford the rents estimated in step (3).**
5. **A *relocation* assignment with regard to those householders who would be displaced during alterations, but would not fit the renovated dwellings under the habitability code, or could not afford the cost of rehabilitated quarters; new public housing will be the commonest relocation, but some shifts to other rehabilitated premises may be possible.**
6. **The *designation* for demolition of all substandard dwellings under the code (1) which step (2) shows cannot be made habitable at reasonable monthly rent when let to present residents (4) or let to other dislocated households (5) or let on the open market.**

Some such house-sorting technique is necessary to separate the sheep for slaughter from the goats to go on being used. Because in our major cities the condition of old housing has deteriorated so far, it is necessary to select only the most restorable bits for first intensive study and treatment. Our towns can give little staff time to this first reconnaissance, certainly not enough to go through the more elaborate methods of appraisal of old houses.[18] Aside from the time consumed, some of these methods have cost four or five dollars per dwelling examined. Cheaper and quicker ways have been found of determining, in sketchy outline, the areas calling most

[17] A well known model is the *Proposed Housing Ordinance Regulating Supplied Facilities* . . . published by American Public Health Association in 1952. See also *Local Development and Enforcement of Housing Codes*, Washington, H.H.F.A. 1953.

[18] The gold-standard yardstick is *An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing* . . . published by American Public Health Association in 1945; used in St. Thomas, Ontario.

Areas Considered for Redevelopment in Montreal. *Montreal City Planning Dept.*



Roof-top view of first area chosen for redevelopment by City of Montreal; note high land coverage, and that many houses built for single families are now occupied by groups of families. There are over 200 residents per net acre to be cleared.

Photo by the author

Typical rear views of buildings in Montreal's first redevelopment area. What were once service doors for town houses are now make-shift "front doors" for additional tenants; overhead are flimsy galleries leading to yet more tenants' entries.

Photo by the author

urgently for replacement or code enforcement. The first quick look may be based on the use of housing census data; the American figures of 1950 have proved a good source of the information needed to place blighted areas in priority order for closer examination and treatment.[19] Canadian Housing Census data collected in 1951 should likewise yield a ready base for setting out a blight correction program.

But there is little point in launching even that preliminary step until a way is found to enlist the inspectors, valuers, interviewers and relocation officers that are needed to carry the process to completion.[20] The Baltimore code enforcement establishment includes a

[19]See Philip Darling's "A Short-cut Method for Evaluating Housing Quality" in *Land Economics*, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (May 1949). There is much subsequent writing based on the 1950 U.S. Census.

[20]An officer of the Building Officials' Conference of the United States recently observed that this would be a major hurdle in their urban renewal program; he estimated that tasks incidental to any significant program would take the full time of many more competent building inspectors than there are in that country, and said that rapid and thorough training for this work was unlikely.

Housing Court, a Housing Bureau in the Health Department, staffed by a Director, deputies, information officer, a score of sanitarians, clerks and others. Running this establishment costs the city upwards of $140,000 a year. A considerable sum must be spent administratively on each house restored, aside from the cost to the owner of the repair work done.

RECAPITULATION

We have looked at the reasons for concern with the condition of our existing housing, the ways of regaining blighted land and buildings for satisfactory use, the attacks possible upon those properties beyond redemption, the reasons for direct public intervention in the process, a basis for deciding how and where to intervene, and the steps to be taken and costs to be met in doing so.

[21]Several such programs were initiated before the 1954 U.S. Housing Act was passed. Philadelphia and Baltimore have been mentioned. Chicago announced such a program in June 1953, and there are others.

A mature and comprehensive program of the kind which embraces methods appropriate to each kind of problem area has been called in the United States an urban renewal program.[21] The elements of government responsibility and action to fill out such a program are summarized for Canada in the chart.

Finally, there is no suggestion that employment of this scaffolding of public measures can by itself achieve any lasting improvement in the physical condition of our older urban areas. The surveys, by-laws, inspectors, grants-in-aid, loans, and all the governmental apparatus will be in vain—healthier, more efficient, freer and more pleasant towns cannot be kept about us—except by the will and vigilance of great numbers of the individual people involved. Urban restoration or replacement must depend in the last analysis upon a favourable social climate and discipline pervading the owners, the users, the voters of the city—not least those residents in its older sections. The typical citizen has continually to *care* about what is his to use, to enjoy and to bequeath.

A CANADIAN PROGRAM OF HOUSING UPKEEP AND REPLACEMENT WILL USE THESE AIDS

MEANS CHOSEN:	To stimulate voluntary private renewal	To assist private renewal	To enforce private renewal	To launch direct public renewal
RESULT SOUGHT:				
To regain Derelict Vacant Land for Efficient Use	Educate to replotting & redevelopment possibilities; also to private land assembly (Sec. 21 of NHA '54)	Budget for public services suitable to use, & adopt re-plotting if asked by majority of landowners	Municipal re-subdivision (Man., Ont., N.B. & Alta.). Check & enforce assessment & tax collections, based on true land value.	Seize for taxes or designate & expropriate municipally, or instigate land assembly under Sec. 36 of NHA '54
To Conserve or Rehabilitate Existing Housing	Study & adjust tax level & zoning to encourage own upkeep; set high standard of civic upkeep.	Provide credit for home improvement; employ Part IV of NHA '54; force removal of abutting nuisances; set up relocation agency.	Codify standards of existing accommodation & police the code; set up relocation & new housing as needed.	Condemn, acquire, restore & then sell or lease offending properties, with relocation agency & new housing for overcrowding.
To Convert Existing Housing to More Suitable Use	Study and adjust taxes & land & building use regulations to remove hurdles; shift municipal service emphasis.	Sections 7(k), 16 & 24 of NHA '54; create alternative housing for present residents, amend zoning & municipal services to suit.	Not feasible?	Only feasible as above.
To Preserve Existing Properties of Intrinsic Interest	See that zoning & building by-laws do not preclude appropriate restoration & use.	Capital grants, tax remissions & grounds upkeep by appropriate authorities.	Schedule structures that may not be defaced or allowed to fall into decay.	Take & restore at public expense, possibly offset by some private use under strictly controlled concession.
To Remove & Replace Irredeemable Dwellings	Survey & publish health & fiscal data on the burden of slums & who owns them; offer to designate (Ontario).	Zoning, taxes & public improvements to encourage; & use of Secs. 16 & 19 NHA '54.	Designation for redevelopment (Ont.); Condemnation under Health Acts, strict use of occupancy codes.	Municipal acquisition & clearance under provincial law & use of Secs. 23 & 16 or 19 or 36 of NHA '54.

APPENDIX A
STEPS COMMONLY TAKEN UNDER U.S. REDEVELOPMENT ACTS

(1) To buy property at minimum prices consistent with previous tax revenue, and with the past behaviour and legitimate interests of present owners.
(2) To determine beyond doubt which structures merit demolition, and which merit retention, possibly with modification.
(3) To achieve the clearance at minimum cost, with maximum return to the public authority for salvageable materials.
(4) To fix as clearly as possible the pattern of logical and prevalent land uses, and to define any newly allowed uses within the area.
(5) To install or improve municipal environmental services so as to be consistent with the intended uses, or at any rate to budget and commit municipal funds in such a way that there can be no doubt of such services being available when required to give full re-use value to the land.
(6) To secure one or more expert appraisals of the selling value of the properties in the light of their new land-use protection and the assumed completion of scheduled public improvements.
(7) To arrange for sale of the property by widely-advertised public auction, or by invitations to make proposals, so as to secure as much revenue as an active and informed market for the properties can be induced to offer.

APPENDIX B
DOSSIER TO ACCOMPANY APPLICATION FOR AID UNDER SECTION 23 OF NATIONAL HOUSING ACT 1954

1. Descriptive and illustrative material on present conditions in the area, its relationship to the rest of the city, and especially to adjoining areas; the private facilities sound enough to be allowed to remain and the public facilities and utilities within it good enough to retain: analysis of Census, welfare, health and other survey records about the area, all in support of its selection for redevelopment.
2. Some account of the real estate history of the general district: records of reasonable diligence in the use of available municipal powers to condemn (and thus devalue) unfit property, to prevent rapid deterioration and to protect public health and safety, especially in the recent past. Outline of assessment method and date applied; recent tax collection experience. Texts and dates of land-use and occupancy by-laws now in force.
3. Physical information about the area: soil, contours, mature trees, natural features, micro-climate (if noteworthy).
4. Information as to present residents: household size and composition analysis; age, occupation and work-locality; family income analysis; terms of tenure, lengths of occupancy, degree of over-crowding; pointers as to best timing and manner of relocation.
5. Diagram and statement of the general relationship of the designated area to the comprehensive Official Plan, including the date of coming into force of that Plan, and steps already taken to implement the Plan with respect to the area.
6. Detailed maps of the status and development plans of the designed area, including:
   (a) parcels in public use and to remain so, parcels in private ownership and to remain so, all parcels to be acquired; all parcels to be relinquished and for what purposes; particulars of present uses not conforming with present by-laws;
   (b) existing public improvements and those to be installed, on both of which the full re-use value of cleared lands will depend; evidence of commitment to undertake the public developments and improvements over a stated period of time (preferably in the form of adopted capital budgets of the competent jurisdictions);
   (c) other specific provisions of the Official Plan, intended land use and building occupancy regulations; site coverage, daylighting, building height and setback and bulk controls; all of which intending redevelopers must take into account in valuing a site and studying its new use; particulars of existing uses that may remain temporarily although not conforming to intended by-laws.
7. Calculation of the clearance grant applied for, consisting of two tables:
   (i) *Parcels to be acquired according to detailed plan 6 (a) and included in table (ii)*

Identity of parcel:	*A*	*B*	*C*	
Present Owner				
Present Use:				
Assessed Value:				*Totals*
Land	$	$	$	$
Buildings	$	$	$	$
Estimated Costs:				
To acquire	$	$	$	$ (I)
To clear (net)	$	$	$	$ (II)

   (ii) *Parcels to be relinquished and given eligible uses*

	Acres	Value/acre	Tax-rate	Estimated sale proceeds
Housing		$		$
Limited Dividend				
Life Insurance				
Federal-Provincial				
Municipal				
Building Sites				
School Sites				
Thoroughfares				
Parking Space				
Open Space				
Other (give use)				
Provincial				
by jurisdiction and use				
Federal				
by jurisdiction and use				

Estimated Total Proceeds: $ (III)

   (iii) The grant applied for under Section 23 of the National Housing Act, 1954 is (I) plus (II) minus (III); all divided by 2.
8. Notes of recent transfers or special circumstances to justify exceptional estimates of cost or re-use value.
9. Particulars of alternate housing sites to be made available where the number of persons dispossessed by 7(i) is greater than those rehoused by 7(ii).
10. Commitments by municipality as to future public ownership of open spaces, and by other governments and housing companies as to indicated uses of sites. (Where the re-use is to be housing under Section 36, this item will become the parallel application, with supporting documents, for use of that Section.)
11. Certified copy of municipal Council Minute endorsing the contents of the dossier, and setting out the authority by which the federal share of the loss sustained in redevelopment will be matched from municipal or municipal-and-provincial funds.
12. Certified approval by the competent Provincial authority of the proposed transaction.

DEVELOPING COMMUNITY INTEREST IN PLANNING

by John I. McVittie*

In the welcome absence of totalitarian practices, community planning can be undertaken successfully only through full application of the democratic process. In other words, planning policies can be made and plans carried out effectively by local government only when citizens understand the problems and the objectives and support official programs of action.

How to arrive at the proper balance in responsibility and understanding between elected council member and ratepayer, between technical specialist and layman, is a problem deserving careful study by community leaders who consider the time has arrived for planning.

One method of tackling the problem was demonstrated early in 1954 in a part of Nova Scotia which includes old established towns and an excellent farming area. The focus of attention was the Town of Windsor, the Town of Hantsport, and the Rural Municipality of West Hants.

This district is located at the eastern end of the famed Annapolis Valley, near the centre of the Nova Scotia mainland. It straddles the main highway from Halifax to Digby and Yarmouth, the main railway line for the same route, and another line connecting Windsor with Truro and the overland route to Cape Breton Island and the interior. Wharf facilities, open all year, are available on each town's salt-water frontage.

The 1951 census reported a total population of 13,675 for the district, with 3,439 in Windsor and 1,131 in Hantsport. Industrial activity centres around lumbering, pulp and paper products, gypsum quarries, textiles, farming, food canning, and other varied enterprises. Churches, schools, a modern hospital, and a regional library system reflect the concern of a matured area for fundamental values.

Interest in planning for the area had been evident in some circles over recent years. The lack of information on possible courses of action handicapped ready decision, while public understanding and support seemed limited.

On invitation of the Mayor of Windsor, representatives of the Councils of the three municipalities met with the Maritime Regional Secretary of the Community Planning Association of Canada and the Director of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, early in the autumn of 1953. Discussion at first dealt with ways and means of acquainting elected councillors and staff officials with existing planning legislation and with planning problems of the district. It soon became evident that much of the same information should be made available to leaders of community organizations, business executives, members of school boards and others with an actual or potential interest in development of the municipalities. Another promising factor in the preliminary meeting was general agreement that planning problems would be tackled more effectively on an area-wide basis rather than by each municipal unit acting on its own.

From these discussions emerged the plan for a one-day conference on problems and possibilities. It was clearly understood by all concerned that participation in the proposed assembly would involve no commitment about future action on the part of the municipalities.

Obviously discussion at the proposed conference could proceed only within certain limits unless technical specialists were brought in. The next approach, therefore, was to Nova Scotia's Department of Municipal Affairs which, in the absence of a provincial planning agency, administers the basic planning statutes. The interest and co-operation of the Deputy Minister and his associates aided in preparation of a balanced program and led also to success in arranging for a unique "panel of experts" of which further mention will be made later.

The Information Session on Community Planning—the name chosen for the conference—was given good publicity in advance by the local and provincial press and by radio. Individual invitations went out to councillors and municipal staff officers and also to a wide cross-section of community leaders.

On a crisp winter morning, the participants met in the Hants County War Memorial Centre at Windsor. Prayer was offered by one of the attending clergymen and official greetings from the chief magistrates of the three municipalities opened the proceedings. Brief

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statements about the Community Planning Association and the Institute of Public Affairs introduced the sponsoring organizations.

A short address on "The Purposes of Planning" by an experienced architect and town planner set the stage for the day's discussions, with particular emphasis on the laymen's approach to planning. The balance of the morning was devoted to the general question: "Why consider planning for the area?" A preliminary review of the district's resources was followed by consideration of specific topics under the heading of "Today's Problems".

Mention has been made of the "panel of experts". Some fifteen departments and agencies of the provincial and federal governments had been invited to send "Information Representatives". These spokesmen were on hand, not to deliver speeches in sequence, but to contribute to the discussion from their specialized knowledge and experience. Whenever the assembly required additional facts or responsible comment, the Information Representatives were called upon by the chairman for assistance.

An example of this pattern was to be found in considering the inter-relation of water supply, soil conservation, forest management, assessment and taxation of forest properties, and random expansion of the towns toward nearby lakes and across good farm land. Another was discovered in the exchange of views on new subdivisions, traffic circulation, protection of the hospital zone, and advance planning for school and recreation facilities.

The afternoon of the one-day conference turned attention to the future: "What could be done about planned development for the area?" The Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs outlined planning legislation, with particular reference to planning boards, long-term plans, control of subdivisions, and zoning.

Learning about such possibilities gave rise to questions about available assistance—always a problem for smaller governmental units unable to set up and maintain their own planning departments. Information Representatives explained the services provided by their agencies or facilitated under shared-cost programs. Aerial photography, map-making, planning consultants' services, statistical information, population forecasts, and other aids to proper planning were described. The role of citizens' organizations, the regional library, adult education agencies and others in furthering public understanding of problems and possibilities was explored with the assistance of other advisers.

Food for the mind on that important day was supplemented by a luncheon and by afternoon tea, tendered by the three sponsoring municipalities. The pleasant intervals were an integral part of the program, providing opportunity for informal discussion and for queries by individuals interested in particular topics which could not be expanded during the general assembly.

What was the outcome of this pioneering experiment? Interest throughout the district was stirred in the possibilities of constructive action. Two of the Councils promptly set up special committees to study and recommend on "next steps". Arrangements were started for aerial photographs, land-use maps, and technical advice from qualified planning consultants.

Supplementing action by the Councils, local organizations began to include talks and discussions on community planning in their regular programs. Reports on these and related events, carried by press and radio, helped to maintain interest in following months and to spread the story to a widening audience.

The Information Session was an experiment in encouraging community interest in community development. That interest is to be found, surely, in every centre: what is needed is the full light of informed discussion to reveal the path to constructive action. Through such a Session, public inderstanding and democratic participation are given due recognition as vital elements in our Canadian way of life.

URBANISME ET STRUCTURE RELIGIEUSE

par Norbert Lacoste, Ptre*

L'urbaniste qui établit les plans d'une ville à bâtir ou celui qui se voit confier la tâche de réaménager un quartier, se voit obligé de tenir compte de plusieurs points de vue. Il doit prévoir les voies d'accès, les zones industrielles et résidentielles, il doit rencontrer les exigences économiques, les conditions du sol, de la température etc. etc.

Dans l'équipement social de la ville, il doit tenir compte de la structure religieuse. C'est à cet aspect que je voudrais d'abord m'arrêter et préciser ensuite les exigences de l'échelon de base de cette structure religieuse: la paroisse.

Dans un remarquable travail présenté à Lille en 1948, au Congrès National de l'Union des Oeuvres Catholiques de France, sur la mission de la Paroisse, le Père Congar o.p. établissait un parallèle entre la structure de l'Eglise et la structure de la société humaine.

> "On a parfois comparé la paroisse à ce type de communauté humaine qu'est la famille, tandis qu'on assimilait le diocèse à la cité. Ainsi ont fait, par exemple, Saint Thomas d'Aquin et Pie XI." "S'il existe dans l'Eglise des organismes répondant respectivement à ce que sont pour la vie humaine, la famille et la cité, cela tient donc moins à l'essence de l'Eglise elle-même qu'à quelque répercussion, en elle, de la nature des choses humaines, de la structure sociale que prend spontanément la vie des hommes. C'est normal, et beaucoup de choses en sont là dans l'Eglise, parce que celle-ci n'est pas une pure descente ou communication des choses célestes: elle est un recrutement des hommes pour s'incorporer au Second Adam céleste (le Christ) et prendre part au trésor de vie réconciliée qui est en lui." "C'est ainsi que l'Eglise, famille et cité en tout ce qu'elle est, prend plus spécialement une structure de famille dans la paroisse et de cité dans le diocèse".

La paroisse, c'est le milieu de formation du chrétien. Elle est le lieu des fonts baptismaux; la cathédrale elle-même n'en a pas si elle n'est pas également une paroisse. La paroisse est le lieu de l'enseignement du catéchisme et de la prédication. Elle est le lieu de la vie sacramentelle ordinaire où l'on reçoit les sacrements qui se donnent à tous. "Par là...," ajoute le Père Congar, "elle répond bien à la famille, à la maison, ou à ce groupement simple de familles et de maisons qu'est la communauté de voisinage, la communauté de l'entr'aide et des services au plan de la vie quotidienne et ordinaire".

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Si la paroisse est hiérarchique et constituée grâce à l'exercice de pouvoirs participés d'en haut, elle est aussi communauté des hommes croyants vivant activement sur la base de cette communication du salut. L'urbaniste se doit donc de créer les conditions matérielles à l'intérieur desquelles pourra se constituer cette communauté.

C'est du reste dans le même sens que se dirigent les efforts des urbanistes américains et britanniques pour constituer des "community areas" et des "neighbourhood units".

La vie moderne a donné un essor formidable aux fonctions humaines qui se sont concrétisées dans des milieux fonctionnels, nombreux et différents: milieux industriels, artistiques, commerciaux et professionnels. L'Eglise les respecte et s'efforce d'y être présente. Cependant à coté de ces milieux l'Eglise veut faire respecter le milieu qui permet tous les autres, l'échelon de base: la communauté familiale et paroissiale. Si elle n'est pas protégée et favorisée, nous nous acheminons vers un double fléau: dénatalité et donc ruine du point de vue démographique; en second lieu, déchristianisation et donc ruine du point de vue spirituel.

Comment protéger ces échelons de base? Par la création d'un esprit communautaire. Cependant, cet esprit communautaire ne peut se réaliser que dans certaines conditions favorables.

Premièrement: La paroisse ne doit pas être nombreuse. La paroisse idéale ne devrait pas dépasser 5,000 âmes. L'idéal serait entre 3,000 et 4,000 pour une paroisse urbaine avec deux ou trois vicaires. Plusieurs raisons militent en faveur de la petite paroisse. (1) Le curé peut mieux connaître et aider ses paroissiens. Chaque famille recevra une attention particulière, et le curé sentira les liens d'une solidarité personnelle. (2) Les paroissiens entre eux auront une intimité qui favorisera l'entr'aide, la mise en commun des préoccupations et de la solution de certains problèmes. (3) Les curés seront nommés plus jeunes et pourront consacrer le meilleur de leur forces à un ministère où leur responsabilité est plus engagée. (4) La petite dimension de la paroisse évite le danger du gigantisme dans la construction de l'église. La rapide transformation des villes ne permet plus de construire comme autrefois pour plusieurs générations, alors que les quartiers se transforment très rapidement.

Deuxièmement: La paroisse ne doit pas être trop étendue. La distance est également un obstacle à la forma-

tion de l'esprit communautaire. Un de éléments les plus importants pour la formation de l'unité paroissiale c'est le contact qui s'établit entre parents à l'occasion de la rencontre des enfants. Une paroisse urbaine doit permettre à tous les enfants de se rencontrer pour jouer ensemble sans avoir à s'éloigner beaucoup de la maison des parents.

Troisièmement: La paroisse doit former une unité géographique. Une paroisse tranchée par une voie de chemin de fer aura de la peine à établir son unité. Une grande artère peut être un facteur de division ou un facteur d'unité. Une grande route à l'entrée d'une ville où circule à toute allure un nombre élevé de véhicules, constitue certainement un obstacle naturel. Par contre, une rue commerciale d'activité modérée peut constituer près de l'église un point d'attraction et favoriser l'unité.

Quatrièmement: L'unité géographique ne suffit pas; il faut favoriser le plus possible l'unité sociologique. Cette unité sociologique ne peut se réaliser qu'à la condition qu'il y ait une certaine similitude. La vie commune exige la mise en commun de certains services, le respect de certaines conventions sociales, la participation à certaines valeurs communes. Le quartier où cohabitent plusieurs cultures se divise généralement en sous-groupes. C'est une loi presque générale que les divers groupes ethniques se construisent les uns à coté des autres mais ils sont rarement intimement mêlés. Il y a généralement un groupe dominant qui donne au quartier sa couleur locale.

L'Eglise en fondant les paroisses nationales, reconnaissait cette loi sociologique. Là où les groupes minoritaires étaient assez importants, l'Eglise avait coutume d'établir des paroisses appelées nationales, recouvrant le territoire des paroisses régulières, mais ne s'adressant qu'aux fidèles d'une certaine origine nationale. Si cette politique se montre excellente pour une première génération d'immigrants qui arrivent dans un pays neuf et qui ont besoin d'être intégrés à une structure pour conserver leur foi et leur culture propre, la question s'avère beaucoup plus délicate lorsqu'il s'agit de la seconde génération. Si le groupe ethnique a une personnalité juridique qui lui permette de développer sa culture, la paroisse nationale se légitimise. Mais si le groupe ethnique ne peut pas survivre, l'institution paroissiale nationale après la période de transition devrait servir à d'autres groupes.

DEUX VILLAGES SUR LE RICHELIEU—Le chemin du roi s'ouvre en un point de vue au coeur de St. Hilaire, devant l'église. Le l'autre coté la même vue s'offre de Beloeil. La clôture est laissée ouverte pour que chaque côte puisse jouir de l'autre.

Photo: Watson Balharrie

Il y a eu plusieurs essais de paroisses bilingues. Il y a là une cause de disputes fréquentes.

La participation aux mêmes expériences et aux mêmes préoccupations développe entre les membres d'une paroisse des liens de solidarité. L'âge d'or d'une communauté existe lorsque la vie de cette communauté exige un effort commun. Une construction, une revendication, une organisation voilà autant d'éléments qui permettent au groupe de s'affirmer.

Le quartier cosmopolite se caractérise au contraire par son caractère individualiste et impersonnel. Il n'y a pas de mise en commun. Il y a juxtaposition de personnes humaines, il n'y a pas de véritable communauté.

Cinquièmement: Sur une base de similitude la paroisse doit être diversifiée.

(1) Pour favoriser la communauté. La diversité dans la composition d'âge des familles assure un heureux équilibre. Une paroisse sans enfant est triste à habiter. Une paroisse où l'âge mûr est absent affiche généralement un manque de stabilité. Chaque âge doit apporter à la communauté son apport nécessaire. En somme, la pyramide d'âges parfaite indique l'existence d'heureuses conditions pour la vie de la communauté.

L'examen d'une ville comme Montréal indique une présence exagérée de vieux au centre et de jeunes à la périphérie. Une ville qui est incapable de faire vivre une population dont la pyramide d'âge est parfaite, manque à sa mission. Elle est inhumaine puisqu'elle ne permet pas à l'homme de survivre. La grande ville vit souvent du surplus de population des campagnes. Dans une processus d'urbanisation rapide comme en connaît le Canada, la situation peut rapidement devenir tragique.

Rappelons la tragique conclusion d'Enid Charles, sociologue britannique, à la fin de son étude, *The changing size of family in Canada:*

> "Il n'est pas nécessaire de nous arrêter à nous demander s'il est légitime de qualifier toute une culture de névrosée. Il était suffisant pour nous de démontrer qu'elle était incapable de survivre. Si nous sommes incapables de nous remplacer nous-mêmes, alors certains aspects de nos relations sociales ont besoin d'être changés."

Il est une autre diversité qui favorise la vie communautaire au sein de la paroisse; c'est celle que constitue la présence d'une échelle sociale suffisamment diversifiée. Cette structure diversifiée des professions et des revenus peut être obtenue par la construction de maisons plus dispendieuses à certains endroits plus favorisés. Si la différence n'est pas trop grande et si les maisons sont dispersées à travers toute la paroisse on ne peut en attendre que d'heureux résultats.

(3) Il est nécessaire à la vie de la paroisse que soit prévue dans ses limites la création d'un petit centre commercial. Les emplettes quotidiennes sont toujours l'occasion de rencontres heureuses entre les gens du quartier. L'interdiction formelle de toute construction commerciale dans un quartier résidentiel me semble absolue. Que le commerce et sa publicité ait un caractère avilissant pour un quartier c'est souvent le cas. Les grands établissements commerciaux ou industriels ont modernisé leur style. Le petit commerce de détail pourrait dans un quartier résidentiel faire revivre sous une autre forme le charme de la boutique de l'artisan.

On peut voir un bel exemple de cette adaptation commercial au style du quartier dans la petite ville de Santa Barbara en Californie. Les urbanistes ont imposé aux firmes commerciales de construire dans le vieux style espagnol de la région. Pourquoi ne respecterait-on pas le caractère français de nos paroisses du Québec?

Sixièmement: la paroisse communautaire ne se bâtira que sur la participation à des valeurs communes. L'urbaniste doit exprimer par la composition de son quartier, le style des maison, des édifices publics les valeurs de la population qui l'habite.

Ces valeurs peuvent être d'abord matérielles: mise en valeur des richesses naturelles de l'endroit, par l'emploi des matériaux et l'adaptation des lignes et des couleurs aux exigences du climat et du paysage. La construction de l'église dans cet esprit est une prédication sur le bon usage des biens matériels.

L'urbaniste doit également mettre en lumière les valeurs humaines du quartier. Vouloir construire en style bourgeois un quartier ouvrier serait une preuve de mauvais goût. Pourquoi faut-il qu'un quartier ouvrier soit moins beau? L'ouvrier vit dans un quartier plus dense que le bourgeois. Ne pourrait-on pas en retour prévoir plus d'espace pour sa famille généralement plus nombreuse et un petit jardin pour lui permettre de reprendre contact avec la nature. Ses heures de travail étant moins longues, il faut prévoir l'utilisation de ses loisirs d'adulte. Bibliothèque technique, atelier de loisirs, etc.

S'il n'appartient pas à l'urbaniste de faire la réclame commerciale, il lui appartient de favoriser une législation adéquate à ce sujet. Des normes esthétiques et morales doivent être observées. C'est illogique d'élever une magnifique église à St François d'Assise si on permet la construction en face d'une énorme enseigne lumineuse, de mauvais goût, annonçant des prêts d'argents à termes faciles! Quel dur retour à la vie urbaine que celui qui nous fait passer des beautés des Laurentides aux néons disgracieux du Boulevard Décarie.

Ces éléments extérieurs ont une répercussion indirecte mais réelle sur l'esprit. Toutes les choses visibles sont significatives, elles portent un message, elles incarnent une idée. Ce peut être l'ordre ou le désordre, la puissance et la force; la grâce et la beauté.

Si le cadre de la paroisse favorise les valeurs de la population qui l'habite, la paroisse connaîtra une atmosphère communautaire. Si au contraire, la population ne retrouve pas ses valeurs, elle cherchera à fuir ce quartier, créant ainsi une population de nomades peu favorable à l'établissement d'une civilisation chrétienne.

CHURCH EXTENSION IN COMMUNITY PLANNING

by Reverend R. H. M. Kerr, B.A., B.D.*

THE increasing interest during the last few years in community planning is a source of deep gratification to all public-spirited Canadians. Responsible authorities are no longer satisfied to see planless development. Rather there is an ever-increasing concern in the planning of our communities, whether in city, town or village, so as to insure that the highest values of comfort, utility, and charm of surroundings may be established and preserved, not only for present-day citizens, but for future generations as well.

Naturally, all planning associations and planning boards are facing complex problems which will take years to iron out. The Community Planning Association of Canada is giving leadership in this direction, and the Canadian public should see great strides forward in the near future. There is one problem, however, which has received little attention so far, although, in the opinion of this writer, it is of paramount importance. It is the problem of church extension in the wider sphere of community planning.

The life of any community of people is as high as the moral and spiritual values which it holds dear, and these values are sown and nurtured by the Christian Church. To quote the words of Dr. William J. Villaume, executive director of the Department of the Urban Church of the National Council of Churches, U.S.A., "we can say without apology that the Churches have thus far in history, despite all their faults, been the major stimuli in developing love for one's neighbour, without which the sociologists and the planner cannot find the kind of community they seek. The planned community needs the Church; and the Church has a stake in the planned community." The Church, however, cannot do its proper work if it is not established in strategic centres of population, with adequate facilities and resources to carry out its ministry.

There are many problems facing the Church today, all of which are clamant. One of these is the question of the renewal of old communities and the Church's task in such renewal. But surely the Church's greatest single problem is how best to plant the Church in the new communities which have been springing up throughout our Dominion at such an amazing rate.

* Extension Secretary, Presbytery of East Toronto, Presbyterian Church in Canada.

It is the purpose of this short article to deal with some aspects of this problem from the viewpoint of the Protestant Churches, with the hope that thereby further discussion may be promoted, and, perhaps, some helpful solutions arrived at through the co-operation of the various denominations in conjunction with the national, provincial, and local planning organizations.

THE UNPREPARED CHURCH

The unparalleled growth of urban and satellite communities at first caught Provincial and Municipal authorities unprepared to cope with the situation. Consequently, in many cases, planning has been done hastily, and in some instances, inadequately. The same has been true of the Church and perhaps to an even greater degree, because it has been handicapped by the lack of sufficient and immediate financial resources to meet such emergencies quickly. There has also been a scarcity of trained leaders to take up the new and widely-extended challenge. The result was that many people in the new communities were compelled for a time either to neglect Church attendance or to travel long distances to their former Church home.

THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

It was not long, however, before the various denominations endeavoured to meet the new challenge. Home Mission Boards and Church Extension Committees, which had been working faithfully and quietly for years, were strengthened and their machinery geared to cope with the added load of responsibility and opportunity. Within the last ten years hundreds of Church buildings have been erected in new areas throughout Canada: an indication, at least, of the missionary zeal of Church leaders and of the devotion and sacrifice of Church members and adherents both in the new areas and in the old.

PLANNING INADEQUATE

Much of this progress, it must be admitted, was attained in spite of inadequate planning. True, there was a certain measure of planning within each denomination, but little among the denominations as a whole. The result has often been an unnecessary overlapping in some

districts, with the consequent waste of financial resources coupled with the partial dissipation of the services of trained leadership.

Another handicap to Church Extension in the past has been due to a marked lack of co-operation between local planning boards, local developers and the Church bodies. No doubt a good part of the fault lies with the latter group in failing to discover for themselves what plans are afoot in their respective communities. On the other hand, apart from exceptional cases, local authorities and planning boards have been slow to recognize the advisability of apprising the Churches when new developments are contemplated. In the deepest and widest interests of any community such co-operation is vital. Unless the planners themselves have caught a vision of a properly self-contained community and have set aside adequate space for Church sites—as for example, in the new Community now being built by the Don Mills Developments Limited in the North-Eastern outskirts of Greater Toronto—then it is imperative that representatives of the Home Mission Boards, or committees of the major denominations at least, should be called in at the beginning of the blue-print stage, so that provision may be made to provide an adequate Church ministry for the people of the community.

DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING DEVELOPERS

The work of Protestant Church extension presents difficulties to the local planners and developers because of the number of denominations interested in such extension projects. Some planners, indeed, have asserted that certain communities have been sadly disrupted by the keen competition of Churches for the loyalty of the people. It cannot be denied that there is some truth in such an assertion. At a Conference on Church Extension for the Home Missions Division of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., held in 1953, the following illustration of this difficulty was given: "A planner of two small communities in Minnesota—one of 6000 and one of 4000—stated that thirty denominations and sects had pressed him for Church sites." This planner was confronted with a real dilemma. Doubtless some Canadian planners have been faced with a somewhat similar difficulty, the solution of which, instead of falling on the shoulders of the planner, calls for intelligent co-operation between the representatives of the major Church groups.

DENOMINATIONAL CO-OPERATION ESSENTIAL

While few leaders of the Protestant denominations would agree to Protestant Organic Union, most of them are agreed concerning the need of Christian co-operation in the Church's vital task. And in no department of that work is the need more apparent that in Church extension. As has been mentioned above, undue rivalry, the wasting of financial resources, and the dissipation of much of the time and energy of trained leadership are matters to be deplored. The alternative is to have a comity agreement among the denominations in the work of Church extension, whereby each group would endeavour to assume its fair share in such work. Such a share could be determined by a study of population census or by the ability of each group to undertake work in a given area assigned to it by mutual agreement. Such a course would not be easy, but if adequate staffs and departments of the co-operating denominations were to study the problem together, and on the highest Christian level, many of the superficial difficulties would disappear and a new measure of genuine progress would be attained.

SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

How large should a population in a new housing development be before a new Church is established? Various answers might well be given to this question. Whether a community is large or small, its citizens need the services of a Church. But in order that the venture may be economically sound and to prevent unnecessary overlapping, the criterion suggested by the *1953 Conference on Church Extension* in Philadelphia appears worthy of adoption, namely: on the average one Church should be erected for 1500 to 2500 available population of Protestant preference. Under a comity agreement one Church might be established for a community of this size, and then when the community is large enough, other types of Denominational Ministry could take their places with the first, in the spirit of mutual co-operation and service. And, of course, for the carrying out of such a program, close contact with planners and developers would be necessary.

CHOICE OF A CHURCH SITE

The choice of a site for a new Church building is of prime importance for the future welfare of a congregation. Sometimes a site is chosen with little regard for its location simply because it can be purchased cheaply. A site of this kind is never cheap at any price if it militates against the success of the parish. In general terms, it may be said that the site should be as near as possible to the centre of community activity where the greatest number of people can walk to the Church; it should provide easy entrance and exit near the arteries of transportation; preferably it should be a corner lot, ensuring maximum visibility and more building space per square foot of lot area; and it should be large enough to provide off-street parking requirements as well as recreational facilities for the parish to be served.

TYPE OF CHURCH BUILDING

The type of Church building to erect is one of the many problems of Church Extension, because of the high cost of construction, and often on account of the un-

certainty of the ultimate size of the new development. In some instances the Church Sanctuary itself has been erected first. But this has its dangers, for until the total development has taken place it is difficult to ascertain the constituency which the Church will serve and the membership which may be attracted to it. The plan followed at present by many of the denominations—that of erecting a first unit—seems to be the wiser course. This first unit can be a combination unit for multiple use, for the purpose of worship, Christian education, and fellowship. It should be so constructed as later to become an integral part of the over-all master plan, thus filling the immediate needs, and ultimately the future needs of the community in which it is placed.

NEED FOR DETAILED STUDY

These then are a few suggestions concerning Protestant Church Extension in community planning from the viewpoint of a single individual. The whole matter calls for a more careful study through closer co-operation between the various branches of the Protestant Church, so that the whole Church may better fulfil its Divine vocation in ministering to the moral and spiritual life of the nation.

St. James United Church, Great Village, Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia Bureau of Information

A PIONEER OF CANADIAN PLANNING:

TRACY D. leMAY

Photo: Toronto Daily Star

With the passing of Tracy leMay on July 28th, 1954, the Province of Ontario, and the City of Toronto in particular, lost an outstanding and wise counsellor, and the profession of community planning in Canada lost one of its most distinguished members.

Mr. leMay was born in England and came to this country in 1906 at the age of 22. When he was appointed City Surveyor of Toronto in 1910, the population of that city and its environs was about 375,000. In the next twenty years, the population increased to 630,000; industries were established; the development of the Harbour was commenced; and many new areas were opened to residential and commercial development. During these years of phenomenal growth, Mr. leMay, as City Surveyor, with few Canadian precedents to guide him, gained a rich experience in laying out all types of municipal services. When the City decided, in 1930, that a Department of City Planning and Surveying should be established, Mr. leMay was an eminently suitable choice for its head.

In 1937, Mr. leMay was given an additional appointment as City Traffic Engineer, and held that office, as well as that of City Surveyor, until 1950. From 1946 to 1953, he also served as Secretary-Treasurer and Director of Planning for the Toronto City Planning Board and as Director of Planning for the Toronto and York Planning Board. In 1954, he retired as Planning Commissioner for the City but continued as Director of Planning for the Metropolitan Planning Board. By that time, Metropolitan Toronto's population had increased to nearly 1,200,000.

Mr. leMay's zeal for the cause of planning was contagious. He gave much of his time to the development of a Canadian planning profession. Well-earned recognition was accorded him when, in 1947, he was elected the first President of the Institute of Professional Town Planners. He was also an active member of the Community Planning Association of Canada, the American Institute of Planners, The Institute of Traffic Engineers, the Association of Professional Engineers (Ontario), the American Society of Planning Officials, and the United States National Association of Housing Officials. Throughout his career he remained active in the Association of Ontario Land Surveyors, having been President in 1920 and Secretary-Treasurer for many years afterward. When he died, he was Chairman of that Association's Council of Management and Chairman of its Board of Examiners.

I was one of those who had the good fortune and pleasure to be on intimate terms with Tracy leMay over a long period of years and who often sought his counsel. He will never be forgotten by any of us. His friend and associate, Robert Baird, Assistant City Solicitor, who worked with him in the preparation of the City's Zoning Bylaw has fittingly termed his death "an almost irreplaceable loss to the City and to the Metropolitan area". Only as the years go by will the great contributions he made to the City of his adoption be fully realized and appreciated.

Toronto. A. E. K. Bunnell

PROGRESS OF PLANNING IN THE MONTREAL AREA

by C. E. Campeau, P. Eng., and Roger Gagnon, P. Eng.*

THE most significant event in the realm of official planning in Montreal has certainly been the creation, in April 1953, of a Master Plan Division within the Planning Department. Such a development was a clear manifestation of the maturity which the department had reached after twelve years of active pioneering work.

The Master Plan Division is composed of three sections, namely: City Data and Research; Zoning and Open Spaces; and Traffic. The staff which comprised a year ago 6 engineers, 1 architect, 14 technicians and draughtsmen and 2 clericals, has been increased as follows: 11 engineers, 2 architects, 24 technicians and draughtsmen, and 12 clericals. There are now 49 permanent employees, and 4 temporary ones including 2 architects, 1 sociologist and town planner and 1 geographer. During the past summer months, 41 university students were engaged for traffic counts and land use investigations.

Since the creation of the Division, some problems had to be examined in a very urgent manner and have needed the full time of the staff. The first one was a project for Slum Clearance and Low-rental Housing. All the technical research and analysis on this $25,000,000 project, submitted to the City Authorities by a Special Advisory Committee composed of Councillors and representatives of Citizens' Associations, was executed by the Master Plan Division. The project covers about 35 acres right in the centre of the City and will concern 1400 families.

This is the first of a series of studies on Slum Clearance and the rehabilitation of blighted areas throughout the central area. Some of these areas may be used for low-rental housing, others for commercial and industrial purposes. In the latter cases, the population would have to be decanted to peripheral vacant land. The City has acquired two years ago, at the cost of $1,500,000, a 600-acre territory which might prove very convenient for such a purpose.

In regard to slum clearance, the City was authorized two years ago by the Provincial Legislature to acquire additional parcels of land not exceeding a depth of 125 feet along both sides of any street opened up or widened, so as to secure a better appearance to a street thus expropriated. The main case was evidently Dorchester Street, widened to 104 feet between Peel and Guy Streets, and to 120 feet between Beaver Hall Hill and Lorimier Avenue, that is, for a distance of about 3 miles. The widening operation had to be done through old buildings and slums. Without the proper use of the new power described above, the $20,000,000 street would have had a terrible appearance due to blind side-walls, backyards, shabby buildings, etc. A thorough study is under way to determine where it is necessary to expropriate the existing buildings within the 125-feet depth. Already a few blocks have been homologated for such purposes and, in three or four instances, buildings have been acquired.

New zoning regulations had to be enacted to ensure a proper development along this widened Dorchester Street which will become one of the main arteries in the central area and probably the one with the best appearance. Severe restrictions have been imposed in regard to height, type of occupation, visibility on street corners, advertising, general appearance, truck-loading facilities, etc.

At the periphery of the central area, special zones were created for de-luxe apartments. Areas which were formerly good locations for mansions and big houses had gradually declined into illegal occupations by institutions and rooming houses. Since the changes in the zoning by-laws, a few important apartment houses are already under construction.

The constantly increasing building boom in the peripheral districts has necessitated the preparation of new zoning by-laws to control the development in areas which had been kept vacant up to five years ago. Such zoning by-laws have been prepared according to the most modern standards in this respect, taking, however, due consideration of local conditions and practice. The written text contains only generalities, while zoning itself is controlled by a zoning plan which legally forms part of the by-law. All the old by-laws governing construc-

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tion in the central districts are being revised and redrafted on the same basis. The 35 by-laws (1 by ward) and their numerous amendments are gradually reduced to eleven (1 by district) and will finally be fused into one Zoning Code covering the whole City's territory.

In the districts newly developed, a severe and thorough control is exercised over the subdivision of land. The City of Montreal possesses a blanket power over the subdivision of the land, which must "conform to the master plan". Very often, when developers deal with large tracts of land, a preliminary sketch of the proposed subdivision is submitted to the Planning Department. A thorough examination is made in each case by the Master Plan Division and the subdivision is not accepted unless found satisfactory from the viewpoint of lot dimensions, street widths and patterns, needs for park and playgrounds, requirements of the zoning by-laws, etc.

Traffic problems have also claimed many studies on the part of the staff. The main activity in this respect was concerned with off-street parking. A detailed analysis has been made of the needs along main arteries and in shopping areas. On the recommendation of the Division, 105 lots were acquired by the City at a cost of $1,774,100 representing approximately 290,000 square feet and a capacity of 1045 cars. All curb parking will be eliminated along the main arteries and in shopping areas concerned, where the off-street facilities will become available by next spring.

The Division has also contributed to the technical studies required for the planning and design of the projected Metropolitan Boulevard, across the north side of the Island. This 14-mile expressway is already being implemented by the Montreal Metropolitan Commission. According to a 1931 provincial law, its estimated cost of $30,000,000 will be borne by all the municipalities of the Island of Montreal, on the basis of their municipal assessment values. The proposed boulevard will have a width of 200 feet, with 8 eleven-foot lanes for through traffic in the middle, and 30-foot service streets on each side for local vehicular movements; traffic in opposite directions will be separated by malls; grade separations will be provided at all the main crossing arteries. In the City of Montreal and in the Towns of Mount-Royal and Saint-Laurent, through traffic will be accommodated over an elevated structure to eliminate vehicular frictions on important intersections and reduce the cost of construction of embankment walls, services and utility displacements which would be incurred by a depressed highway.

A much-debated problem at the present time is the question of mass transportation. Subways have been proposed but many people in Montreal feel that, although it might be useful, an adequate system of subways would cost so much that it would be impossible to bring any major long-needed improvements to vehicular traffic. On the other hand, they think that expressways will prove useful both to vehicular traffic and mass transportation.

An expressway has been studied by the City Planning Department along the waterfront from Montreal-West to Viau Street in the east end of the Island. This 14-mile elevated highway would cost approximately $100,000,000. It is proposed to build a first stretch of about 4 miles between Atwater Avenue and Berri Street. Discussions are going along for retaining the services of an engineering firm for preparing preliminary construction plans for the whole right-of-way from Montreal West to Bout-de-l'Ile. This East-West Expressway combined with the Metropolitan Boulevard would constitute a belt highway around the most densely built-up section of the Metropolitan Area.

A few surface improvements have also been considered lately. The main one was the Burnside Street extension westward through a 10-story apartment house, the Drummond Court Apartments. The City Council has authorized the buying of this building so as to make possible the construction of a vehicular passage through its basement and first floor. The building, renovated accordingly, would then be used for municipal purposes or resold. The implementation will be started as soon as the provincial government gives its approval to the spending of the money required.

Mention must also be made of various projects which are under study, such as the widening of Sherbrooke Street to 100 feet between Union and Amherst Streets, the extension of Cavendish Boulevard from Côte Saint-Luc Road to the Metropolitan Boulevard, and the opening of a few 80-foot boulevards through new developments such as Salaberry Street, Henri-Bourassa Boulevard, etc.

In regard to traffic, most of the traffic engineering function in the City Administration is now performed by the Traffic Section of the Master Plan Division. A permanent traffic-counting unit has been organized, comprising 1 engineer and 8 counters, and 30 auxiliary counters during summer months. Automatic trafficounters are also used. The Traffic Section is now looking after all off-street and curb parking problems, including parking metres, pavement markings, traffic signs, traffic design and other similar problems pertaining properly to traffic engineering. This function is exercised at the same time as the planning phase concerning traffic: that is, classification of arteries, establishment of a network of main arteries, homologations, expropriations, temporary occupation and cession of public streets, etc. It is now considered more and more opportune to dissociate the Traffic Function from the Master Plan Function by creating a Traffic Division within the City Planning Department.

The Master Plan Division has, during the last year, completed the preparation of a Master Plan of Open

Spaces, on which a report will be published very soon. The need was urgent for such a Master Plan in order to provide adequately for parks and playgrounds in all the residential sections of the City, and especially to provide for possible future developments which would make vacant land available for such purposes. As millions of dollars are being spent now by the Administration on parks and playgrounds, such a Master Plan of Open Spaces will prove a very valuable guide for the future.

The most important undertaking which the Master Plan Division envisages for the very near future is the scientific and systematic completion of a Master Plan for Montreal. Already much material and data have been assembled which will be most useful as a basis for work. Analyses of population, existing land uses and economic conditions have been made, and as soon as they are finished, reports will be published. Studies will be completed or undertaken on proposed land uses and especially on industrial expansion, community facilities, traffic arteries and parking, housing and community conservation and rehabilitation and on the site-planning of special areas with due consideration to civic design. Within three years, the scientific and systematic compilation of all these studies should lead to an appropriate Master Plan. Schedules of operations are being established to attain in due time the goal set forward.

Metropolitan problems are very acute and complex in the Montreal Region. Planning for Montreal cannot be easily and effectively done without taking into consideration the surrounding territory. The increase of population in the suburban area has been tremendous during the last few years and the building boom is more active than ever with main foci on the Saint-Louis Lakeshore, Jésus Island, the east end of the Montreal Island, and especially the Parish of Saint-Léonard de Port Maurice, and finally on the South Shore around the Towns of Greenfield Park, Mackayville and Jacques-Cartier.

This growth of the suburbs is due both to new additional agreement and to selective decentralization. The population of the City itself is still increasing at a tremendous rate and its vacant land, serviced by sewers, is all being built. Lack of parking facilities, the difficult conditions of mass transportation, and the low cost of land and large-size lots available especially for industries, have encouraged suburban development. Three regional modern shopping centres have been built at total cost of $15,000,000 at the periphery of the City; they are indicative of a new way of life in the Montreal Region, where the number of automobiles has doubled every five years since the end of World War II.

A big effort is made by all the municipalities in the Montreal Region to control the new developments according to modern planning requirements. Of a total of about 50 rural and urban municipalities, 25 have had new zoning and building by-laws and master plans prepared and 10 have asked all promoters of new developments to have master plans of their land prepared by experienced town planners.

A special tribute must be paid in this regard to the local authorities of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation who have been very strict on their planning requirements for large-scale private developments and have thus in many instances enabled the planners to overcome the inertia of local municipal engineers and Town Councils. Similar action has also been beneficial on the part of the Quebec Provincial Bureau of Agricultural Loans and the Quebec Provincial Town Planning Bureau.

However, one cannot but notice a terrible lack of coordinated efforts toward a unified planning throughout the metropolitan region. Two movements have been set up and are still trying to survive. One was a "Federation of Mayors and Municipalities of the County of Chambly", grouping all the municipalities of the South Shore, representing a total population of approximately 100,000 people. The draft Act prepared for incorporating such an association aims to provide master planning on a county basis. This draft Act has been discussed with the provincial authorities and might be acted upon soon.

Another movement has just been initiated on Jésus Island. Four or five municipalities, representing a population of about 50,000 people, have expressed their willingness to act jointly for the provision of main public services and also for master planning. It is felt that the first step toward such a voluntary cooperation would be the draughting of a blueprint of the most important planning needs of all the interested municipalities.

Finally, the problems of inter-municipal action between Montreal and the surrounding municipalities have become so complex that two years ago the Provincial Government decided to authorize the creation by Montreal of a 21-member Commission for the Study of the Metropolitan Problems of Montreal. One of the findings and recommendations of the Technical Committee of that Commssion has been that there is an urgent need in the Montreal region for metropolitan planning, especially in regard to highways, mass transportation, general land uses, subdivision control, industrial location, building code and control of nuisances such as water pollution, smoke, quarries, etc.

The Saint Lawrence Seaway has also attracted the attention of the City Authorities of Montreal. An advisory Commission has been formed with the purpose of protecting the interests of the whole Montreal Region in relation to this national undertaking.

This brief and incomplete description of the state of planning activities in the Montreal Region will at least show that the City Authorities of Montreal and its region are well aware of the planning needs and are trying to find the most adequate solutions to urban growth problems in the best interests of the whole community.

THE PROGRESS OF PLANNING IN THE WINNIPEG AREA, 1953-1954

by Eric W. Thrift*

THE effectiveness of planning in the Greater Winnipeg area continues to improve as time goes on. Sometimes this is reflected in small and apparently insignificant ways. Quite often the integration of the planning function into the administration of a metropolitan area is a process which must be evolutionary in character rather than revolutionary. The following paragraphs, therefore, intend to touch on some of the aspects of urban development wherein planning has led to some effective progress through this integration process.

It is the aim of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg to see new zoning regulations established in all the municipal units making up the Greater Winnipeg area. These zoning regulations are intended to be parts of a coordinated metropolitan scheme of zoning. Some progress has been achieved in the past year in the adoption of new zoning.

New regulations covering the whole of the Municipality of St. Vital are now in effect, and similar regulations are in the process of adoption in the Municipality of Fort Garry, on the opposite side of the Red River from St. Vital. These regulations include control over large agricultural areas and in this way provide some measure of control over unwise fringe development.

* Director, Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg.

Because of the location of Stevenson Field, within fifteen minutes driving time of the business district of Winnipeg, the relationship between the operation of the airport and urban development was studied in some detail. It can now be reported that there is continuous study being made of the influence of the airport and of the disturbance problem created by its location. Major efforts are being made to overcome disturbing influences resulting from the close proximity of the airport to some residential areas.

There has been some further progress in the resubdivision of lands in various municipalities that were subdivided years ago but had not been developed. Two major examples of this activity are:

(a) the resubdivision of a major industrial area in northwest Winnipeg so that adequate industrial sites could be created and trackage facilities could be provided;

(b) the South Winnipeg shopping centre and housing site which involved the cancelling of an old subdivision to provide adequate sites for the shopping centre and residential development as well as major school, park and adjacent recreation areas; this activity has progressed to the point where new subdivision plans are in process of approval.

Special intersection designs within the urban area have been prepared in cooperation with the Provincial Highway Department for location along the route of

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WINNIPEG: CENTRAL AREA

Portage Avenue and Main Street, both 132 feet wide, were established back in the Red River ox-cart days. Main Street follows the Red River northward. Portage Avenue, which follows the Assiniboine River westward across the prairies, is now the route of Trans-Canada Highway No. 1. One of the earliest pieces of town lot subdivision in Greater Winnipeg was established on the area through which Portage Avenue runs in this picture. The subdivision existed even before the final location of the route of Portage Avenue which cuts through the subdivision at a slight oblique angle. The streets originally established were 66 feet wide with blocks 260 feet by 500 feet between them. The lots were 50 feet by 120 feet. It is part of what is known as the old Hudson's Bay Reserve which extends from the area in the photograph south to the Assiniboine River.

The street immediately to the right of Portage Avenue and roughly parallel to it, leads to the airport—Stevenson Field.

The new north-south thoroughfare which is planned in this area, will make use of Donald and Smiths Streets as one-way routes in opposite directions. This dual route will connect to the new mid-town bridge now under construction over the Assiniboine River. It will lead from there to Highway No. 75 to the United States and to Highways No. 2 and No. 3 southwest.

the Trans-Canada Highway through parts of Greater Winnipeg. These designs for traffic handling are now under construction.

In October 1953, the ratepayers of Winnipeg approved a capital expenditure for the construction of a new Mid-town Bridge across the Assiniboine River. Clearing and construction have now started. This will provide a new and essential link in the thoroughfare system in central Winnipeg. It will also provide direct links to several of the major highways.

Study has also been made in some detail of a second major river crossing. In this case it is a proposed crossing of the Red River from the central area into the north-east section of Greater Winnipeg. Since it also involves a grade separated crossing of the C.P.R. main line, it is one of the most expensive but none-the-less essential thoroughfare projects in the history of Greater Winnipeg.

A major highway by-pass link is being constructed on the east side of the Red River. Its extension southward will connect with the U.S. Highway No. 59 and will eventually create a highway route northward along the east side of Lake Winnipeg. The link in the Greater Winnipeg area is now complete while sections of the highway north and south are at present under construction. It makes it possible for truck and highway traffic in the eastern region to avoid the urban areas which it has no reason to traverse.

Study has been given to the problem of disposal sites for incinerator ash and incombustible wastes. These studies were approached from a metropolitan viewpoint. Further work is, however, necessary in this connection from the administrative as well as the location standpoint.

An Inter-municipal Committee has been established to study the problems of metropolitan administration. It is hoped that this Committee will be in a position to recommend major improvements in metropolitan organizations.

At the last session of the Provincial Legislature, the Metropolitan Planning Act was amended to increase the maximum assessment limit provided under that Act. This makes it possible for the Commission to continue normal expansion of its operations.

There were a great many other day-to-day decisions made about civic and municipal development in the past year or so, and more and more of these were made having regard to their planning aspects and long range influence. It is in the day-to-day use of planning as a guide in the every day decisions that its great usefulness can be brought about.

PLANNING PROBLEMS IN THE VANCOUVER AREA

by G. Sutton Brown*

THIS past year has seen a significant forward movement in community planning throughout the Greater Vancouver area; an increase in activity which is of considerable importance in view of the continuing rapid expansion of metropolitan Vancouver and the problems which it raises.

Commencing with the fundamentals of all planning processes, there has been a welcome increase in the powers of the British Columbia Town Planning Act to bring them more in line with modern planning legislation. Under the revised Act, Council is enabled to adopt, as an official plan, proposals for any part of the municipality or even for any project. It is now possible to designate in the official plan or in a Zoning By-Law, lands to be used for a wide variety of public purposes, including areas which require development or redevelopment as a whole.

The remaining major revision has the effect of initiating "interim" development control. The issuance of a building permit can be withheld for a period of 30 days to enable a Council to consider a new plan or amendments to a plan or zoning by-law, which would be the reason for refusing the permit. Such refusal would not require the payment of compensation.

The City of Vancouver, by reason of recent revisions to its Charter, may, by by-law, control the use of land and buildings by a "Development Permit" system, which will facilitate the administration of day-to-day development to the benefit of the City. A revised zoning by-law is being drafted to take advantage of these new arrangements.

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Furthermore, the City, under the Charter, may acquire real property for the purpose of providing sites for commercial or industrial development either by the purchase of underdeveloped land or the acquisition of blighted and obsolescent areas. These powers parallel similar provisions which have been in force for the clearance of slum properties for residential redevelopment.

This legislation should provide all that is needed to plan ahead for the improvement of municipalities on a comprehensive basis.

Recent months have seen the publication of two planning reports for adjacent municipalities:

Living and Working in West Vancouver, an economic analysis as a basis for community planning, prepared for the West Vancouver Council by H. Peter Oberlander, M.R.A.I.C., A.M.P.T.I., and Ira M. Robinson, M.A., published by the Corporation of the Municipal District of West Vancouver.

Industrial Land Use Surveys, prepared for the District of North Vancouver by Ira M. Robinson, M.A.

In addition, the municipality of Richmond has appointed consultants to prepare a plan and zoning by-law.

It is of interest to record that these three municipalities, together with Burnaby, have appointed qualified planning officers, so that there will be the opportunity of maintaining continuity in their planning work.

All these events underline the growing awareness of the advantages of community planning among the cities and municipalities in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

The Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, which serves in an advisory capacity an area of 1300 square miles, including metropolitan Vancouver, has been extremely active. This year the Board has initiated an arrangement whereby its services are directly available to municipalities for local planning work. Of particular importance to metropolitan Vancouver has been the report on airports and it is significant that the publication of this report preceded extensive land purchases by the federal government, which should protect the future of Vancouver International Airport.

However encouraging this progress may be, the most significant trend is the growing collaboration between the cities and municipalities constituting Greater Vancouver in considering their common planning problems. In 1951 the provincial government established a Technical Committee for metropolitan highway planning under the chairmanship of their Chief Engineer, and comprising the Engineers from the City of Vancouver, the City of New Westminster and the Municipality of Burnaby. This Committee has the power of co-opting other technical officers, so that the Executive Engineer to the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board and the Director of Planning for the City of Vancouver have participated in their work. This Technical Committee is required to study and report on the necessity for additional access roads to the metropolitan area, and their linkage with an international metropolitan system of highways. As the first step in such studies, origin-destination surveys have been carried out in connection with the highway crossings of the Fraser and Pitt Rivers on the southern and eastern boundaries of Greater Vancouver.

A Committee comprising representatives of the North Shore municipalities, the City of Vancouver, and the companies operating the present toll bridges across Burrard Inlet, has had under study the location and widths of new bridges required to carry the increasing traffic to the north. These bridges are becoming increasingly congested, so that new facilities will be required in the near future. For this work a Technical Committee has been constituted under the chairmanship of the Director of Planning, Vancouver, with technical representatives from the several authorities concerned. Origin-destination surveys were carried out last fall, and the report of the Technical Committee is expected in the near future.

The initial work of the two committees will provide forecasts of the future external traffic entering the Burrard peninsula and its probable distribution. Similar studies are expected next year to deal with the internal movements of traffic, so that before very long there should be available to all constituent authorities proposals for an arterial highway system required to serve the Greater Vancouver area.

More recently, the Vancouver Branch of the Community Planning Association of Canada was intrumental in bringing together the Mayors and Reeves of the whole metropolitan area to discuss their joint problems. Since then, two further meetings have taken place under the chairmanship of Reeve MacSorley of Burnaby to discuss highway matters. These meetings suggest the beginning of a new era of collaboration in planning development.

The consideration jointly of common problems has not been confined to highways alone. The Regional Planning Board sponsored a series of meetings to consider the question of metropolitan parks and their joint management. A brief on this question has been submitted to Reeve MacSorley's metropolitan committee to give the matter further study.

We find therefore that not only have individual authorities made progress in the preparation of plans for the future development of their areas, but there has been a firm move towards the consideration jointly of problems of a metropolitan character. The way seems clear for still greater progress in the future.

CANADIAN "NEW TOWNS"

by Harry W. Walker*

RELATIVELY unknown to most Canadians is the unusual type of settlement that typifies "new town" creation and development in this country. Many Canadians do know something about such "model" towns as Ajax, Deep River, Marathon, and Terrace Bay in Ontario, Arvida in Quebec, Corner Brook in Newfoundland, Uranium City in Saskatchewan, and Kitimat in British Columbia. Not so well known, however, but just as representative of the nation's new-town growth are Alexo in Alberta; Bissett in Manitoba; Abitibi Canyon, Batawa, Copper Cliff, Espanola, Iroquois Falls, Kapuskasing, and Smooth Rock Falls in Ontario; Baie-Comeau, Bevcourt, Clarke City, Forestville, Isle-Maligne, Rapide-Blanc, Riverbend, and Temiskaming in Quebec; Black's Harbour in New Brunswick; Buchans in Newfoundland; Britannia Beach, Ocean Falls, Powell River, Port Mellon, and Sparwood in British Columbia; and over one hundred others. A conservative estimate of the population of 166 towns included in our recent survey is 189,000.

SINGLE-ENTERPRISE COMMUNITIES

The common characteristic of all these towns is that they have been created by the fiat of a single authority, usually by a private industrial company, but sometimes by governments or governmental agencies. A large number (if not the majority) of the new Canadian communities planned *ab initio* by a single enterprise are loosely labelled "company towns", a highly-charged term which means different things to different people. Professor K. Grant Crawford, Director of the Institute of Local Government at Queen's University, Kingston, has described such communities as "single-enterprise", a term which may be more accurate and devoid of emotional connotation.

In the creation of those Canadian "single-enterprise" communities, very little, if any, part has been played by real-estate promoters, professional town planners, or the collective intelligence and ideals of the people of already-established communities. With one or two exceptions, they have not been created to serve philanthropic or idealistic ends. For the most part, they are the brain-children of industrial entrepreneurs in the United States and Canada who have had to face the fact that the creation of a new town in the wilderness is often a "necessary evil" if the Canadian forests, minerals, oil, fish, and water-fall sites are to be exploited for industrial purposes. Unfortunately the one-industry town, despite the best intentions of its creators, has inherent weaknesses which are difficult to overcome. In many of them, the usual duties, responsibilities, and freedom of citizenship in an organized municipality are completely lacking; "company paternalism" often takes the place of individual responsibility and personal initiative in a whole range of social and political activities.

* Mr. Walker was formerly a research assistant in the Institute of Local Government, Queen's University. While so employed, he travelled nearly 19,000 miles across Canada during a period of 18 months visiting 60 "single-enterprise communities" in six provinces. He is now a foreign service officer in the Department of External Affairs.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The first impression the visitor to one of the Canadian new towns is likely to get is one of amazement to find a miniature city flourishing deep in the forest. He is apt to be taken aback by the sharp contrast the town and its surroundings present between the creativity of man and the wonders of nature. If he approaches by air or first sights the town from the top of a hill, the visitor will be impressed by the neatness and orderliness in which the town has been laid out. Here is no higgledy-piggledy town development. The layout of the streets and structures departs from the rigid rectangular street pattern to which he is accustomed. He may also observe, however, that there is a rigidity in the manner in which the houses —all of the same type—stand like soldiers on parade awaiting inspection. Fortunately, though, he is not likely to find that the houses are all of one type, as if cast from the same mould, in the latest "new towns".

After he has been quartered in the large and comfortable "company hotel" (with adjoining golf course) and has had an opportunity to look over the town, the spell of the place is likely still to enthrall the visitor as he notices the urban-like features of the small town which would have a semi-rural character as a community of the same size in the more settled areas of the country. He is surprised to find a modern shopping centre, churches, schools, recreation halls, skating rinks,

swimming pools, play-grounds, and other community facilities of a size and nature far beyond those found in ordinary communities of the same population elsewhere.

The visitor is likely to be amazed, too, at the hustle and bustle, the noise and the smoke that he sees and hears at one end of the main street in the vicinity of the shopping area and the entrance to the mill area—in contrast to the rural stillness at the other end of the street, just a few hundred yards away, where the road ends at the edge of the forest. The shiny new cars he sees are hardly expected, either, for there are few streets. Only one or two roads seem to lead anywhere: one to the mine, mill or dam, and the other to a nearby beach or fishing spot.

In a large number of single-enterprise Canadian communities, no roads lead to outside settlements; they are geographically isolated and the terrain is unfavourable for road-building. The visitor later learns that the automobiles are brought in on railway flat cars or aboard ship and are highly regarded even though their utility is strictly limited; the distance from the mill to the most distant house in town is usually not quite a mile. But, no matter, the wide curving streets are usually more than adequate for the small amount of motor traffic, and heavy vehicles seldom use the narrower crescent-shaped residential streets.

Incidentally, it is suspected that there are three reasons for the inordinate number of automobiles in many of the isolated "new towns". First, the car enables

KAPUSKASING, ONTARIO, founded in 1920, probably the first attempt by a provincial government to give birth to a "model" fully-planned community. The Government's action was taken "to prevent the town becoming a 'closed' or 'company' town". (Housing Report of 1921, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Toronto, 1922, p. 8.) In the foreground of the photograph are the Inn (right) and the Community Centre (left). The hospital is left of the centre and the school is in the background.

Photo by R. O. Jennings, Smooth Rock Falls, Ontario

the company employee and his family to spend the annual vacation at a great distance from the town at a cost more economic than train or boat travel, despite the extra cost of transporting the car for part of the trip on a railway flat car or on a boat. Second, there is the ordinary reason of "conspicuous consumption" combined with the fact that many of the employees in the mine or mill are mechanically-minded men who delight in "tinkering around" with an automobile engine. Third, there is a desire, seldom expressed, to own some item of relatively valuable property in those towns in which the house is owned by the company and in which there is generally little or no opportunity for the employee to have any property interest.

While walking the tree-lined streets, the visitor is favourably impressed by the sight of closely-cropped wide lawns, well-cared-for flower borders, and spacious park areas. In some of the newer single-enterprise communities, the houses are built by the company to blend with the trees instead of the usual procedure whereby the trees are added later to suit the convenience of the housing site. Probably the most striking example of this "natural" type of house-siting is the pulp town of Terrace Bay on the north shore of Lake Superior. In most of the new towns, the visitor will be informed that all the landscaping, even the mowing of the lawns in front of the company houses, is done by the company's townsite maintenance department.

MILLS AND LIVING SPACE: PROBLEMS OF SITING

Next to the favourable impression created by the natural beauty of the single-enterprise wilderness community, and the extraordinary quantity and quality of accompanying community amenities, the visitor is likely to become aware of the close physical relationship which exists between the site on which the houses and community institutions are constructed and the site on which the mill, mine, factory or other industrial operation is found. This relationship may already have become obvious if the visitor has arrived by air or by boat or by descending into a valley. Oddly, it appears that the millsite occupies the most suitable area while the residential and commercial areas occupy the less desirable site. The reason, of course, is that the townsite as such owes its existence to the fact of the existence of the mill or mine or water-fall; without the latter there would be no need for a settlement. Sometimes, after the industrial needs for space have been satisfied, there is little room left for the townsite. The result is often the ingenious utilization of hillsides and other sites ordinarily considered unsuitable for town building. Buildings and streets are sometimes constructed on piles footed on the bottoms of bodies of water. An extreme case is the logging village of Holberg, British Columbia, once situated entirely on log floats but now gradually moving onto land. The pulp town of Ocean Falls and the fish-packing village of Namu are two other British Columbian communities that have had to use part of the water-front for streets and building "lots" because of the limited quantity of flat land available.

LongLac Pulp & Paper Co., Limited
Terrace Bay, Ontario.

In most of the older Canadian one-industry communities, the townsite is laid out across the river or creek or lake from the millsite and within view of the latter. Only recently, as exemplified by the aluminum smelter town of Kitimat and the coal community of Sparwood (both in British Columbia), has there been a tendency in new-town planning to put some distance between the townsite and the site of the industrial operation. An extreme example of townsite-millsite separation is the relationship between the industrial area of Chalk River, Ontario, the atomic-energy site, and its residential and commercial site on the Ottawa River now known as Deep River. They are six or seven miles apart. The need for security is part of the reason for this separation, but in some other new towns, such as Terrace Bay and Sparwood, the reasons for separating the townsite from the industrial site by means of large wooded areas are psychological and aesthetic.

PREEMINENCE OF THE COMPANY

It may seem strange to professional town planners and others who believe in the desirability of "green spaces"; but many workmen in the older company-created communities express a preference for living near their work, in spite of the noise and smoke and lack of trees and grass. Paradoxically, however, this close juxtaposition of the living and working areas in the older single-enterprise towns gives rise to condemnation from

MARATHON, ONTARIO—Situated on the north shore of Lake Superior and on the Canadian Pacific Railway main line, Marathon is one of the larger new towns created at the end of World War II. The photo illustrates the typical physical relationship between the industrial millsite and the townsite, and also shows street-planning to take advantage of land contours in order to avoid steep gradients. The population of this pulp-manufacturing town is almost 1,800. *Photograph: Glenn Douglas*

the very persons who describe the advantages of living close to the job. It is not uncommon to hear an employee declare that he wished the sight, sound, and smell of the mill did not follow him home after his eight hours of work for the company.

One pulp mill worker in a northern Ontario town spoke for many another employee not quite so articulate when he explained that though he liked his work at the mill, he liked to forget all about it when he came off shift and crossed the bridge linking the millsite to the town-site. He would like, also, to forget about "the Company" when he left the mill. But he cannot. On his way home, he stops at the beer parlour in the company-owned hotel (although several industrial companies prohibit beer parlours), or he shops in the company store where his purchases are credited to his account and deducted in advance from his pay cheque. In the evening he listens to his children tell about their activities during the day in the company-provided school. He and his wife may decide to go to a movie in the company-operated theatre or go bowling in the recreation hall built by the company. On Sunday, the family goes to church in a building erected by the company. "Everywhere you go, you run into the Company which you wanted to leave behind in the mill when you came off shift", the pulp worker complained.

The company, by necessity and sometimes by choice, is employer, landlord, storekeeper, town council, and recreation director combined. In most one-enterprise towns, the company provides the fire department; in a few towns, the police department also is operated by the company.

The inevitable consequence of being involved in so many aspects of the personal, political, and social life of the employees is that the company is accused of "dictatorial paternalism". On the other hand, those

looking at the situation from the company viewpoint frequently say that the employees "expect to receive too much for nothing" from the company. They charge the employees with having little personal initiative and with having little regard for company-owned property. Unfortunately, observation by the outsider too often vindicates the allegations of both sides. In their desire to "keep the employees happy" or to attract workers from the cities of the south, the companies provide free facilities and services for the employees which would normally be paid for elsewhere in the form of fees or taxes. In their puzzlement over the indifferent attitude of the employees towards the company's bounty, the managerial spokesmen and company executives seem to forget that the workers (or any other human beings) seldom appreciate things for which they have made no direct money or labour contribution. For example, the townsite administrator of one Ontario paper-manufacturing community could not understand why the company-built-and-operated recreation hall was hardly used by the employees in contrast to the well-patronized community hall in a nearby "fringe" settlement. It did not occur to him that the employees could prefer the less-well-appointed building merely because it has been built with pooled voluntary labour.

Conversely, however, the employees are often wont to forget or fail to understand and appreciate the circumstances which have determined the company monopoly of community facilities and services. The reason for the existence of the company-owned store is usually due to the fact that separate private enterprise is unwilling to risk operating in an isolated settlement where the number of customers is strictly limited and transportation charges are high.

A good example of how isolation and other circumstantial facts force the company to take action to provide facilities and services that would normally be supplied by a municipal council and private commercial enterprise is the small company town or "colony" of Abitibi Canyon built by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario at a water-fall site on the Abitibi River. Were it not for the generation of electric power by the H.E.P.C. there would be no community in existence there. Hydro constructed all the houses, the retail store, a community hall, a school, a small hospital, and a boarding lodge. It owns and operates a private railway line and rolling stock that connects the community to the "outside". It operates the fire-fighting department and owns and controls the anti-black-fly spraying equipment. All the rules and regulations for the governing of the community normally embodied in municipal by-laws are promulgated by the H.E.P.C. or the local manager.

The antithesis presented between company paternalism on the one hand and lack of initiative and appreciation by the employee on the other hand is most clearly evidenced in the matter of company-owned housing. Until recently, it was taken for granted in the majority of single-enterprise company-established towns that all the dwellings should be built by the company and owned by the company. Employees and their families would be tenants, of course, but only on condition that the head of the house remain in the employ of the company. In case of the employee leaving the company, for whatever cause (including retirement), the employee and his family would be forced to vacate the company house in order that it might be rented to a replacement employee. Actually, it can be seen that "rented" in the accepted sense of the word is hardly the term to describe this quasi-landlord-tenant relationship. In other words, the ordinary landlord-tenant situation, based primarily on the payment of a money rent by the latter to the former for occupancy of the former's house, does not exist in most company towns; occupancy of the company-owned house is conditional upon the tenant being employed by the company.

COMPANY-OWNED HOUSING

Another difference between the company-housing set-up and the ordinary landlord-tenant relationship is that in the former the rent is, with two known exceptions, collected in the form of deductions from the payroll through a bookkeeping entry in the company's accounts section. Thus, the company as landlord never has any difficulty in collecting rents so long as the tenant is employed by the landlord-employer.

One of the poignant misfortunes of the tenant-employee occurs when he is forced to vacate the company house at the time of his retirement upon superannuation. Although he has been a company employee for many years and he has never lived elsewhere than in the company house, he must move out in order that a younger employee may move in to take his place.

As mentioned, almost all companies, or other authorities responsible for the administration of single-enterprise townsites across Canada, take it for granted that rents should be collected by means of payroll deduction. Many employees, especially in the managerial and clerical classifications, admit that payroll deduction is a less painful method of paying the rent than paying out a regular sum each month from one's pocket or purse. This may be true. Certainly the administrative costs of collecting the rents by payroll deduction are low. It has the advantage of simplicity, and there is no need for hiring collectors or having "lawyer's letters" sent to slow-paying tenants. But is not this merely another example of company paternalism? The ordinary landlord does not have the privilege of collecting rents through payroll deduction. Why should the occupants of company houses be treated differently? Just because they occupy company houses? If that is an argument—

and some company spokesmen claim it is—then to my mind it is indeed another example of an aspect of individual responsibility taken over from the employee by the employer. The employers frequently claim that they want employees who are willing to accept responsibility; yet they are usually unwilling to grant their employees the responsibility by budgeting their income so as to allow for regular payment of the rent.

A perplexing problem for all companies that rent houses to employees is the manner in which the houses should be assigned. Most companies keep a few houses vacant or reserved for managerial and skilled "key" technical personnel. The semi-skilled and unskilled employees who occupy cramped quarters or who are forced to live in the nearby shacktown on the edge of the company community because of the lack of available housing do not appreciate this procedure. So long as there is a general scarcity of housing accommodation they feel that all the company houses should be occupied. The employer, on the other hand, knows that if he cannot offer a house to a prospective highly-skilled employee, he may not be able to attract him to the relatively isolated community. In a number of communities, the companies have found that the best solution is to form a housing allocation committee composed of representatives of the labour unions as well as of

ARVIDA, QUEBEC—An incorporated city, Arvida (named after the executive Arthur Vining Davis) now has a population slightly over 11,000, although the Aluminum Company of Canada, Limited originally planned in 1925 for an optimum population of 50,000, which is now the estimated future population of the new Alcan smelter city of Kitimat.

Photo: Aluminum Company of Canada, Limited

management so that each may better understand the needs of the other.

An outstanding—almost astounding—feature of company housing throughout Canada is the very low rental rates charged to employees. The common rental level is around one-third the rent of equivalent accommodation in ordinary communities. This fact is not always appreciated by the employees who have not had a chance to compare rents they pay with the rent paid "outside". Employers frequently complain that little or no gratitude is shown by employees towards the company's rental subsidy policy. Many employees find it hard to believe that the company does not make a good profit by owning and renting houses. They ignore the well-authenticated fact that the employers lose money on company-owned housing. Their argument runs that the company is in the business to make a profit; it makes a profit on its industrial operation; surely it must be making a profit also on its houses.

Even though the employees may be aware that they are paying a below-normal rent, they still may feel dissatisfied because of alleged rental inequities. Unfortunately, this charge is too often true. A favoured employee of the company may be occupying a particular type of accommodation for which he is paying a lower rent than a newcomer living in the same class of house, merely because the company has not decided to raise all rents. Although the employers think their employees should be more grateful for the low-rental accommodation the companies provide, the employees think their employers should place more emphasis on equity in housing rates.

EMPLOYEE-OWNED HOUSING

Because of a recognition that company housing rental policies may create more antagonism than goodwill and because of the rapidly rising costs of building and owning houses, many industrial companies across Canada are currently selling their houses to employees, instead of renting them, or are encouraging employees or private contractors to build the houses instead of the company itself becoming directly involved. Part of this encouragement takes the form of housing loans to the employees and guarantees by the companies to buy the houses of the employees at a reasonable price should the latter leave the companies' employ. The companies usually also provide expert advice as to the type and manner of housing construction, sometimes offering the use of company machinery and equipment to help the employee build his house. It is a common practice, too, for the company to use its own purchasing department to help the employee buy construction materials at relatively low prices. Some companies even supply housing lots, serviced by water and sewerage, in an effort to foster the growth of a non-company housing area separate from the company community.

Despite this general tendency for companies to get out of the housing and real-estate business, some concerns are resisting the trend. They argue that the experience of the past proves that it may be dangerous to inaugurate such a policy. An economic depression or exhaustion of a particular natural resource may result in the single-enterprise community becoming a ghost town with the accompanying result that the employees lose the money they have invested in their houses. Another argument presented is that the building or purchasing of a house by an employee in a single-enterprise community tends to "tie" the employee to the company and to the town; although the employee may wish to take up a job opportunity elsewhere, ownership of his house and the difficulty of selling it may prevent him from taking advantage of the opportunity.

The majority of companies contend, however, that the advantages of selling company houses or of adopting a policy of non-involvement outweigh the possible drawbacks. Many company spokesmen, especially the personnel managers and the townsite administrators, testify that employees who build or buy their own houses are far more responsible as both employees and citizens than those who rent company-owned dwellings.

OTHER RECENT TRENDS

The same general trend can be seen in the manner in which industrial companies in single-enterprise communities are also divesting themselves of ownership of retail stores in favour of separate commercial operation. The oil town of Devon, Alberta, is an example of the rapid change that can take place in converting a so-called "company town" to a regular municipally-incorporated town. The Imperial Oil Company had resolved to relinquish its ownership and control of the community which it created just as soon as the citizens (Imperial Oil employees for the most part) were ready to assume the responsibilities that accompany municipal incorporation. There is also a noticeable trend towards co-operation by industrial companies with provincial government departments and agencies in the planning of new townsites. A recent example of this co-operation was the establishment of the lead-copper-zinc mining community of Stirling in Nova Scotia.

There has also been noted an increased interest in the creation of "model, planned industrial towns" embodying concepts held by most contemporary town planners to be highly desirable. Prominent examples are Kitimat in British Columbia and Terrace Bay in Ontario. Not all industrial companies, however, are convinced that town planning does not consist merely of surveying housing lots, streets, and sidewalks in the traditional housing subdivision of rectangular block design. As a matter of fact, many companies consider that all the necessary town planning can be done by the engineering department in its drafting rooms.

Even as some companies prepare to abdicate their control and operation of townsites because their once remote communities have now become more readily accessible due to improved communication and transportation, other companies are preparing to open up new townsites in still isolated areas where the scarcity of existing populated centres of either an urban or rural nature seems to permit no alternative to the creation of new towns by single enterprises. Industrial development requires the establishment of townsites within a period of a few months instead of the traditional slow and gradual transition from hamlet to village to town to city. However, the once all-powerful paternalistic company dictatorships common to the history of "company towns" in the first three decades of the present century have all but vanished in Canada. The causes are multifold; but among them may be mentioned the counter-balancing power of the labour unions, the churches, the provincial governments, and the impersonal nature of the present-day large-scale industrial corporation in which ownership is separated from management.

Where possible, it would seem desirable that an industrial company proposing to pioneer in natural resources development should be encouraged by the provincial government to join with one or more other entrepreneurs, as well as with the provincial government, to create multi-enterprise instead of single-enterprise communities.

It seems evident that the continued exploitation of natural resources which is taking place in the relatively unpopulated areas of the pre-Cambrian Shield, the Cordilleran mountain region of the Pacific coast, and the Appalachian region of the Atlantic coast will give birth to many more "new towns".

Industrial entrepreneurs faced with the need to provide such towns will profit from a study of the school-of-hard-knocks experience of their predecessors. In such a study, there is also valuable knowledge to be gained by professional town planners, municipal councillors, and all others interested in the problems of town life. In many ways, the single-enterprise "new town" serves as an over-simplified laboratory model, demonstrating in a magnified and exaggerated manner many of the problems common to all types of Canadian towns.

HONEYMOON BAY, B.C.—A lumber-milling forest community created in 1943 with a population of about 750 persons living in 65 houses owned by Western Forest Industries Limited, a subsidiary of Alaska Pine and Cellulose, Limited.

Photographic Surveys (Western) Ltd.

BASIC PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL PLANNING IN CANADA

by J. W. Watson*

No country has more to gain by planning than that country which has most to lose by not planning. Canada has a great deal of wealth for its population, both in resources and in skills. It has forged ahead because of the free development of that wealth. Consequently the stress has been on enterprise rather than planning.

However, the situation is changing. In the first place, enterprise has created problems, particularly in the exceptionally high concentration of endeavour in the city, which call for planning if they are to be resolved. But more than that: the general environment has changed, making Canada's position, its resources, its room for development, and the nature of its growth, of more vital concern to the world than ever before. This fact is a new one in Canadian history and, therefore, may cause a new appraisal of Canadian progress. In the author's opinion, such an appraisal would stress planning as an essential adjunct to enterprise.

This paper will take up four major problems that have come to the fore in recent years and indicate how they apply at the national, local, and regional levels.

CANADA'S NEW STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

The first major problem lies in Canada's new strategic situation. This country, once on the margin of the geography that mattered, is now at the centre. It is the only country in the world directly between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., the poles of world power to-day. As such it guards the most strategic approaches to the western hemisphere: namely those from the northeast, across the North Atlantic and Labrador; those from the north, across the Arctic Ocean and the Canadian Arctic; and those from the northwest, across the North Pacific and Yukon and British Columbia. Indeed, Canada has a longer frontier on the strategic oceans and air-lanes of the world to-day than any other nation, not excluding the Great Powers.

Since the shortest crossings to this continent are from the north, attention has been focussed on that area. The north was once an almost negligible region in world affairs, prior to the use of long-range aircraft, but is now of extreme importance. Consequently, its development presents a great challenge to both enterprise and planning. It forces us to ask the questions: how far should we go in its development, where should we start, and how should we proceed? Obviously since the national interest is involved, the nation as a whole should take a look at the problem. But when it does so, it sees that the whole area is not equally suited to development. On the contrary, development will have to concentrate on those regions best suited to it, and those regions are few and far between. Because they are far between, in central Yukon, about Great Slave Lake, in Western Hudson Bay, in Northern Ontario, in Ungava Bay and central Labrador, they form unique cases and they can best be studied within themselves. Indeed, it is only after they have been studied in this way, in some detail, that the parts may be fitted together and a true, and worthwhile, picture of the whole be obtained. Thus, although the problem is national, it will have to be tackled regionally, and the regions will have to accept their responsibility and play their part.

But what does all this have to do with the man in the street, it might be asked. How does it affect city councils and town planners? Very vitally. For the geography of northern development hinges on a few gateways and on the cities that guard those gateways, such as Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, and St. John's. It is from these cities that transportation routes will spring into the north, goods, supplies and personnel will be assembled for movement into the north, services will be concentrated and control be centred. In other words, planners developing Labrador-Ungava will have to start with base facilities at Montreal, Quebec, and St. John's. The development of new power sites and mineral resources far up the west coast will mean even more to Vancouver than to the lonely valleys where the actual exploitation will proceed.

It has been estimated[1] that the population of the north will increase by about 250,000 in the next few decades. It has also been estimated that such an increase will add over 1,000,000 people to the south. Most of that million

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[1] Watson, J. W., The Pattern of Canada's Post-War Development, *Geography*, July, 1954.

will be added to Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Are we planning for that? Our cities have been dominated so long by an east-west axis, the reflection of our east-west mentality, that there is little evidence of planning for north-south facilities.

In other words, if the nation has to reach down to the region, the city has to reach up to it, and plan with widened objectives.

This is more especially true because of the new implications of mass destruction from air attack. If Canada as a whole is really in a critical geographical position, that puts each of its major cities in a critical position. Should such an unfortunate thing as another war break out, people might well be asking not, "Can London take it?" but "Can Toronto take it?", because Toronto is much nearer to the heart of industrial America and is closer to the direct routes there from Northern Europe and Siberia than is London.

Since the powers of destruction have grown enormously with the hydrogen bomb, our ideas of civil defence have grown as well. They are no longer centred in saving the city, but rather the region. They are not concerned mainly with rehabilitating the downtown area, but the whole "umland" or surrounding territory on which the city depends. Cities are so dependent on their regions and on each other that widespread destruction in any one centre would cripple transportation and industry over an extensive area. Therefore, we have to plan for industry, transportation, housing, and services throughout that whole area. And this is something the town planner must realize, even if called on to plan simply for a city or municipality. The atomic bomb has put town planning *for the sake of the town alone* out of date.

CANADA'S NEW ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE

A second major problem for Canada is that it has acquired new and much greater economic significance. Our resources are in wider demand than ever by other countries and, consequently, are in greater danger of being exploited. Both Western Europe and the United States have depleted their reserves of some of the fundamental commodities of modern industry and are being compelled to look to under-developed countries. Even the United States, which for so long was a net exporter of most of these commodities, has become a net importer.

In a speech to the Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future, Charles P. Taft[2] asks the question:

> "Can we (i.e., the United States) supply our essential basic raw materials from within, or not? The answer is perfectly simple. We cannot. We import 7% of our iron, 11% of our wood pulp, 12% of our oil, 22% of our zinc, 31% of our copper, 52% of our lead, and 96% of our manganese. Certainly we should encourage exploration in the United States for all these items. But we are not going to be able to make ourselves self-sufficient."

Why? The answer has been given, in part, by Professor Renner[3] in his book *Our* (i.e., U.S.) *National Resources*. In this he says:

> "After a mere 150 years of American existence some 85% of our wild game is gone, 80% of our timber has been cut, about 67% of our petroleum reserves, 65% of our lead and zinc [60% of our high grade iron ore] and 52% of our copper have been used up, while at least 10% of our cultivable land has been ruined beyond repair. Yet 150 years represent only the lifetimes of two men—what a disastrous pair of lifetimes."

The parallel is all too obvious for Canada. Would we want the same thing to be written of Canada 150 years after Confederation? One hopes not.

Canada faces a great economic opportunity in being able to make up for what other nations have lost. But does it not face a grave responsibility, at the same time; the responsibility to plan for the wisest use of these resources?

Again the problem is a national one, but again it cannot be answered by the nation alone. Canada is too large to allow any of its greater problems to be solved from the centre. And few people recognize that more than those who live in the centre. Our founding fathers recognized it and gave the primary responsibility for the use of resources to the Provinces. Surely that was because the problem of their use is fundamentally a regional one. The problem varies so much from region to region that those people can handle it best who are closest to it and realize its unique nature. Of course the nation must see that a balance is kept between the regions, and that neglect in one does not prejudice effort in another. Also it may help out where the region simply does not have the money, skills or personnel to solve its own problems, as was the case with the setting up of the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration. But in the main the nation has given the problem squarely to the region to face and master. And must do so.

Unfortunately, within the region, many feel that the conservation of our resources is chiefly a rural matter. Consequently few, if any, town planners devote enough attention to it. Even in rural areas, the attack on the problem is very often on a township basis and does not take cognizance of the problem throughout the region. However, city and township are integrated so closely with their region that, should that region change, they will change too. The city is peculiarly sensitive to such change because it is the heart of the region. Most cities dominate and are dependent upon river basins. Lack of

[2]Taft, C. P., How Much Should We Depend on Foreign Resources?, *Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future*, Dec. 3, 1953, Washington.

[3]Renner, G. T., *Our National Resources*, New York, p. 3.

conservation in the back parts of these basins can decrease the water supply, cause the gravest irregularities in river regimes, and even, eventually, affect the climate. Such changes will certainly affect the city. Indeed, the lack of a good water supply is already one of the major limiting factors to city growth in the United States.[4] It is claimed that while the U.S. population may increase by about 25% by the end of the century, the demand for water could increase by 95%. This demand is already serious enough in Ontario, particularly in the Thames and Grand River valleys. How much more serious it could become if town planners forgot to urge the necessity of planning for the whole region of which their city formed but a part? The lack of conservation through the nation as a whole would nowhere hit harder than in the city.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WASTE

A third major problem arises out of the first two but is fundamentally psychological. It lies in the psychology of waste. So many people feel that this country is so well placed and so well endowed that it has an ample margin for error or waste. They assert, consequently, that it does not stand in need of planning. A visit was once paid a friend who had bought out a beautiful orchard in order to subdivide the land for housing. It was suggested to him that this was a waste. "That's because you come from the Old Country," was the rejoinder. "Don't you know Canada has enough land and to burn?"

There is no greater fallacy. True, Canada is well placed, and its setting alone will give it importance and bring it trade. True, it is well endowed. But it does not have a margin for waste. It does not possess "land and to burn". Vast though our country is, and rich though it may be, it is actually on the border-line of safety and success. Yes, we are the second largest country in the world; but only 7% of the land is occupied, and only 4% improved.

The fact is, our climate, soils and topography put much of the country on the verge of habitability. We live in a difficult environment. We are not far removed from the last ice age. Nearly all of Canada was swept by ice and suffers from huge stretches of barren rock, intractable moraine, or useless swamp. Even in southern Canada there is an astonishing amount of land that is unfit for anything. To get our wealth we have to struggle for it, and in that struggle there is little room for waste.

Indeed, few parts of Canada have optimum conditions. Perhaps the dairy belt in Ontario and Quebec, potato farming in the Maritimes, the spring wheat belt in the Prairies, and the subarctic forest come as near to optimum conditions as we have. But in all these areas, past glaciation and rugged topography render much of the land quite marginal. The greater part of the land is just on the latitudinal or altitudinal fringe of optimum conditions. We live, as it were, on a razor's edge. Take Ontario, for instance: in the southwest it is just on the fringe of sweet corn, sugar beet and tobacco production; in the Niagara peninsula, on the fringe of peach, nectarine, and apricot production; in central Ontario, on the fringe of apples and commercial vegetables; and in northern Ontario, on the fringe of certain forage crops and small grains. In every case there is just enough opportunity to encourage enterprise, but enough hazard to demand the most careful adjustment.

It is stated by Mr. Jenkins[5], the United States chief agronomist, that the optimum summer temperature for sweet corn is 77°, though good yields can be raised down to 70°. The average summer temperature in south-western Ontario is 70°; that is, exactly on the margin. In most years the crop does all right, but in 15% of the years it experiences below average temperatures. Consequently, farmers have to plan in the most careful way to use the soils and drainage that will offset climatic hazards.

Similarly, it is claimed by Mr. Magness[6], the United States' chief pomologist, that peaches do not do well where July temperatures fall below 70° and that they suffer critical tree injury where winter minima are below -15°. The Niagara peninsula has a July average of 71°, and so is just within the good peach growing zone; but it experiences occasional winter minima of -16° or lower, when extensive damage to trees is suffered.

Again, these facts can best be appreciated on a regional basis. A national plan might tend to write them off, because it could not measure their wide ramifications throughout the province. On the other hand local plans take very little cognizance of them. Cities argue that they are not bound by isotherms but can be built practically anywhere.

Well, in the first place, cities never *are* built practically anywhere. They are built where they can best do *business*. And they can best do business where they are most accessible to raw materials and markets. Consequently, they are vitally concerned with where raw materials can best be grown, that is, with the whole question of optimum or marginal production. The city dweller looks out and sees millions of acres of land and

[4]Borchert, J. R. The Surface Water Supply of American Municipalities, *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, Vol. XLVI, No. 1, (Mar. 1954).

[5]Jenkins, Merle, Influence of Climate and Weather on Growth of Corn, in *Climate and Man* (Washington, 1941), pp. 308-320.

[6]Magness, J. R. and Traub, H. P., Climatic Adaptation of Fruit and Nut Crops, in *Climate and Man* (Washington, 1941), pp. 400-420.

says there is "land and to burn". But if he starts burning up the only good land there is, what is left to him will not keep the factories humming.

Good land is at a very high premium. It does not take much to "burn it up" or change it. If the climate of Ontario got cooler by a degree or two, its cities might conceivably not have factories making corn flakes, beet sugar, cigarettes, and canned fruit. At least, they would have to assemble their raw materials from a considerable distance at a higher cost. *In a highly competitive world that might be the difference between success or failure.*

Let me say at once that there is no likelihood of such a drastic change in climate. At least, not in the physical climate. But suppose there were a change in the climate of the mind and people said "it is too much effort to make the constant adjustment required to grow corn, sugar-beet, tobacco, or fruit", the result would be the same.

Now, it is suggested that such a change in mental climate is not only possible, but that it is happening. Many orchard owners have given up farming and sold out to interests in Hamilton or St. Catharines because they have got the idea that the complete invasion of the Niagara fruit belt is inevitable. Once a substantial number think that way, then the climate of opinion may alter, and we may say goodbye to the fruit belt with as much finality as if a new glacial age were advancing on us.

This change is happening. And it is happening amongst other things, because the towns and town councils have paid scant attention to the problems of growing fruit, or anything else. Indeed, councils seem most anxious, when they are planning annexation, to take over the soils and climates most suited to fruit raising, etc. They have done so because they have been thinking only of the towns, and not of the regions in which their towns are set. Such thinking is calamitous.

COMPETITION BETWEEN USES OF LAND

This raises the fourth and last problem. It is, basically, that of the competition for the use of land. When we belong to one group we naturally go after the best land we can get. For instance, turning to the vexed problem of the fruit belt, the city dweller is possibly quite justified in saying, "Why shouldn't towns go out and get the best soils and best climate? We can surely buy enough peaches from Georgia and corn from Iowa to meet our needs, provided we produce enough goods to buy them." That seems to be a sound argument. The success of city life in peninsular Ontario is to be explained, in part at least, by the fact that here is the best climate in Canada, outside of coastal British Columbia, and here are excellent gravel terraces and sandy outwash plains, which, when stripped of peaches, make ideal ground for city sewers.

The tragedy for Canada is that in such a vast country, the best sites for its cities are limited to the best sites for so many of its most highly specialized crops. Surely there ought to be room for both in a huge land like Canada?

There does not seem to be. Our really favoured environments are so few, and they cover such a small part of the total land area, that there is the fiercest competition for their use. Indeed, it could be argued that the competition for them is little inferior to that which rages in a small country like Britain. It is completely erroneous to believe that because we are so large, there is no pressure for space and, therefore, that we are not in need of planning. The sooner we kill that idea in Canada the better.

Once again, although the nation as a whole may be aware of this problem, it cannot measure it except after studying it region by region. In actual truth, one doubts if we *are* aware of the problem. Canada is one of the few modern states that does not have a land use map, showing what are the principal uses of land and where and to what extent they do compete with each other. The U.S.A. has a land use map on the scale of 1:5,000,000 or roughly 125 miles to the inch. Britain has a map on the scale of a mile to the inch. These countries are able to tell just where their horticultural land, or market gardening, or urban land, or land under various types of field crops, occurs, and so on. By examining trends they can see where competition is fiercest and, therefore, plan for a more rational use of land. We cannot, because we have not made the regional studies from which, and from which alone, the national picture can be obtained.

And that is not surprising because, at the local level we have not really cared. Very few cities have made an appraisal of all the land in their hinterland, of how much land of different categories they are likely to take over, of the extent of competition with other users, and of how that competition should be resolved, not only for their good, but for the good of the region as a whole. In fact, relatively few settlements have even made a land utilization survey within their own border.

The city is one of the great competitors for land, and therefore affects its region. This should involve it in regional planning, whether it likes it or not. The problem is acute from coast to coast. In the Halifax area, the city has expanded so much that it has taken over nearly all the well drained, fertile "drumlins" in the vicinity, notwithstanding the fact that these drumlins have been singularly favourable to agriculture in a locale that is otherwise singularly unfavourable to it. But if the farmers should ask of city dwellers "Why don't you build on non-agricultural land?", the citizens might reply, "Why build on rock when we can get drumlins?

Anyway, why farm when you can sell out to a real-estate agent?"

At Vancouver, Professor Robinson recently read a paper on Planning for Agriculture. In this he reminded his audience of an earlier warning he had made.

> "Two years ago, I emphasized the danger in the trend of expanding residential settlement onto the good agricultural land in the Fraser River Delta. Every year, 100 to 200 acres of excellent dairy or truck garden land disappears into the non-productive classification of housing. Already, Vancouver's agricultural hinterland in the Fraser Valley cannot supply sufficient food for the urban metropolis, and yet we continue to allow agricultural land to go out of production and, therefore, increase our food costs. There might be some arguments for this trend, in terms of the space needed for productive commercial or industrial workers, if it were not for the fact that large empty areas still exist in Greater Vancouver, located on non-productive, coarse, glacial soils. *On a regional basis,* housing should go on non-productive land, leaving the good soil to feed the growing population."[7]

Alas! For a country of 3¾ million square miles there seems to be all too little of that sort of land which is fit for us alone, and all too much of the coarse, glacial stuff to which to confine everybody else!

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the matter might be summed up as follows:

Canada's new strategic and economic position gives it more opportunities than ever. But these opportunities call for a new sense of responsibility. Planning is one of the chief methods of meeting our responsibilities and making use of our opportunities. Therefore there is a new need and urgency for planning. In this, both national and local interests are involved. However, Canada is so large that planning from the centre, or national planning, is scarcely desirable, even if feasible. On the other hand piecemeal planning on an *ad hoc* basis in pin-point locations is not going to solve our problems. National and local interests meet in the region. The basis for planning should therefore narrow down from the nation and broaden out from the city, to become the region.

This is not to say that there is no call for a national policy. There is. But it will be strengthened if it becomes a synthesis of regional studies. Similarly, there is obvious need for planning the minute concerns of municipalities; but these will be made more stable if fitted into the framework of the region. When land is studied from a regional point of view, we are no longer interested in the claims of one use alone, and for itself. On the contrary, we try to work out a basis for the mutual dependence of all the uses, recognizing that they are all dependent on the region.

Planning is especially needed in Canada because the great expansion that is going on is taking place within real restrictions. Although the wealth of Canada is vast, the areas in which it can best be developed are limited, and competition for land is keen. No development can ignore the region which gives it birth, otherwise it may become a cancer in the region, ultimately leading to its own decay. If planning were to make the region its fundamental basis, it could build city and farm and other users of land into the region in such a way that there would be a chance of building the region into the nation, to the assured prosperity of all.

[7]Robinson, J. L., Dwindling Arable Lands in British Columbia, *Proc. Regional Conf., Community Planning Association of Canada,* Vancouver, July 1952, pp. 15-20.

MISSISSAGA

by D. F. Putnam*

After more than two centuries of rural expansion, Canada has, in the last fifty years, become a land of cities. Regardless of whether his approach to the problem be sociologic, economic, historic or geographic, this is the outstanding fact that confronts the student of Canadian development. In 1901 the Canadian population was largely rural; only 37% dwelt in incorporated places and only two cities had populations of more than 100,000. At the census of 1951, it was shown that urban places of more than 1,000 persons contained 62% of the population, or more than 8,600,000 people.

Seven metropolitan cities, of more than 250,000 each, held 4,216,000 or 30%; seven urban areas of second rank, with 100,000 to 250,000 each, held 934,000 or 6½%; while twenty-two third rank cities, with populations between 30,000 and 100,000, held 1,208,000 or 8½%; thus bringing the "big city" population to 6,358,000, or 45% of the total population of Canada.

TABLE I—THE URBAN POPULATION OF CANADA, 1951

First Rank Cities	*Population (1,000's)*
Greater Montreal	1,396
Greater Toronto	1,118
Greater Vancouver	531
Greater Winnipeg	354
Greater Ottawa	282
Greater Quebec	275
Greater Hamilton	260
TOTAL	4,216
Second Rank Cities	
Greater Edmonton	173
Greater Windsor	158
Greater Calgary	139
Greater Halifax	134
Greater London	122
Greater Victoria	104
Sydney—Glace Bay	104
TOTAL	934
Third Rank Cities	
Greater Saint John	78
Greater Chicoutimi	74
Greater Regina	72
Lakehead Cities	71
Greater Sudbury	71
Greater Trois-Rivieres	68
Greater St. John's	68
Greater St. Catharines	67
Kitchener-Waterloo	64
Greater Sherbrooke	56
Greater Saskatoon	53
Greater Brantford	52
Greater Oshawa	52
Greater Shawinigan Falls	50
Greater Kingston	50
Greater Moncton	45
Greater Sarnia	41
Greater Peterborough	41
Greater Sault Ste. Marie	41
Greater Drummondville	33
Greater Cornwall	31
Greater Guelph	30
TOTAL	1,208
Greater Cities Total	**6,358**
Other Urban Areas	**2,270**
Grand Total	**8,628**

Adapted from Census of Canada, 1951.

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Ontario is the most populous province in Canada and has been so since Confederation. At the first Dominion Census, in 1871, Ontario had 44% of the total population. Gradually, as newer provinces were settled, the importance of Ontario decreased until 1921, when it was found to have only 33%. Since then, however, Ontario has kept pace with the rest of the country.

Ontario is a large province; its total area is more than 412,000 square miles. Spread over this area, its 5,000,000 people (estimate of June 1954) averages only 12 persons per square mile. Ontario, however, shares with the whole country the characteristic of uneven population distribution. Only 15% of its area may be said to be effectively inhabited. The real population density, then, of Ontario, is not 12 but about 80 persons per square mile of occupied area.

The trend toward urbanization is most strongly felt in Ontario which contains three of Canada's cities of first rank, two of second rank and twelve of those in third rank. Ontario's population is more than 70% urban.

As well as being the most populous, Ontario is also the most productive province, averaging 40% of the annual national output of goods and services. Although her farms are not so extensive, Ontario usually leads in annual value of agricultural production, being sometimes challenged by Saskatchewan which has three times as much farm land. Ontario leads in mining, stands second in the development of electrical power, and third in forest production. Ontario's greatest lead, however, is to be found in the secondary industries, in which Ontario's share usually amounts to about half of the total Canadian output. Ontario's urban populations and her manufacturing industries have grown up together.

MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS

The manufacturing industries of Canada are strongly nucleated. Eight important districts contain about half of this activity, whether it be expressed in terms of employment, salaries and wages, net value contributed or gross value of product. The eight districts are: Greater Montreal, Greater Toronto, Greater Hamilton, Greater Windsor, the Niagara Area, the Grand River Area, Greater Winnipeg and Greater Vancouver. Each of them has more than 30,000 industrial employees and each contributes more than $400,000,000 annually in gross

value of products. Five of these areas are in Southern Ontario. Three of them are associated with the "greater cities" of Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor, while the other two are clusters of smaller cities and towns in rather restricted geographic areas.

Looking a little more closely, we note that three of these great manufacturing areas, Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara, surround the western end of Lake Ontario, while a fourth, the Grand River Area, is only a few miles away.

MISSISSAGA

It is clearly evident, therefore, that the present economic core of Ontario is to be found in the urban nuclei clustered about the western end of Lake Ontario. At present they may still be regarded as individual nuclei but the indications are that in the near future they will grow together to form a conurbation and an industrial area of enormous size and complexity.

It is obvious that we need a name for this great urban area. The land on which it is situated was obtained from the Mississaga Indians by means of various treaties through the years 1764 to 1818. It would, perhaps, be suitable to name it for the original owners. Mississaga, on the map, would be good company for, but would not be confused with, the other Indian names of the region, such as Ontario, Oshawa, Niagara and Toronto.

THE GROWTH OF THE CONURBATION

This growing conurbation is undoubtedly the greatest challenge facing geographers and planners in the immediate future. It embraces parts of ten counties: Welland, Lincoln, Wentworth, Halton, Brant, Waterloo, Wellington, Peel, York and Ontario. In 1951, the population of the ten counties was about 2,000,000. Current estimates show it to be increasing at an annual rate of 5% per year in comparison to a rate of 3% for the province of Ontario and 2.7% for the whole of Canada. If nothing happens to diminish this rate of growth, the area will have an urban population of 3,000,000 when the next census is taken.

At the time of Confederation this area was completely settled while most parts of it had reached the peak of rural agricultural population. There were only two small cities, Toronto and Hamilton, which, in the first Dominion Census of 1871, had population records of 56,000 and 27,000 respectively. The ten counties of Mississaga had 450,000, about 28% of the total for Ontario.

For three decades the growth rate continued to decline. During the 1890's, the population increase was only 3%, the same as that of the whole of Ontario. By the turn of the century some counties had actually smaller populations than in 1871. Hamilton, however, had almost doubled its population to reach 53,000 while

TABLE 2 — THE GREAT MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS OF CANADA — 1951

	Number of Factories	Number of Employees 000	Salaries & Wages $000,000	Cost of Materials $000,000	Net Value of Products $000,000	Gross Value of Products $000,000
Greater Montreal	4,600	222	512	1,312	988	2,350
Greater Toronto	4,650	208	517	1,285	1,125	2,430
Greater Hamilton	640	58	151	322	303	648
Greater Windsor	295	35	106	348	274	627
Niagara	490	36	101	290	225	533
Grand River	915	54	123	254	239	500
Greater Winnipeg	950	35	76	250	151	407
Greater Vancouver	1,460	44	110	316	234	550
Total: Eight Districts	14,000	692	1,696	4,377	3,539	8,045
% of Canadian Total	37.8	55.0	51.8	48.2	51.0	49.0
Total Mississaga	6,695	356	892	2,151	1,892	4,111
% of Canadian Total	18.1	28.2	27.3	23.7	27.3	25.1

Toronto with 208,000 was almost four times as great. Nevertheless, the 1890's had been a period of slower growth for both cities.

The first three decades of the twentieth century constituted a period of great expansion, although the effects of the "boom" were unequally recorded. During this period the population of Mississaga had more than doubled to reach 1,500,000 of which the Greater Toronto Area contained nearly 50%. Toronto, itself, ceased to expand its area after 1921, and has had little increase in population since 1931. Hamilton also grew, but not so rapidly. The industrialization of World War I was felt in many smaller centres, particularly those of Brant and Waterloo counties on the Grand River and in the Niagara Frontier. The expansion of the motor car industry in the 1920's is reflected in the growth of Oshawa. Wellington county, however, had fewer people in 1931 than it had in 1881, while Peel and Halton had shown only slight increases. Here, then, there were strategic empty spaces. Another one was also to be found in the east, between Toronto and Oshawa.

During the world-wide depression of the 1930's, only Lincoln county was able to grow appreciably faster than it had in the previous decade. In most other parts, and in the Mississaga area as a whole, growth was considerably retarded. The population increase for the whole area was 10%, almost exactly that of Canada during the same period.

The war and post war periods have seen great population changes in Mississaga. The intercensal period 1941-51 registered an overall gain of 400,000 or 24.3%. The city of Toronto increased very little, being already full, but Greater Toronto gained nearly 24%. Most of the other areas forged ahead even more rapidly but the greatest gains were registered in the counties of Halton (57%) and Peel (77%). The current rate of population increase, however, is at least double that of the intercensal period.

Mississaga is still strongly nucleate, however. Greater Toronto, itself, holds more than 50% of the population; Greater Hamilton, more than 12%. Greater Oshawa, Greater St. Catharines, Kitchener-Waterloo, Greater Brantford and Guelph are also important nuclei, although a thickening ribbon development is beginning to link them all together. Port Credit, Clarkson, Oakville, Bronte and Burlington, lying on the lake shore between Hamilton and Toronto, have long since become commuters' towns and the Lake Shore highway is no more than a series of local streets. In some areas, also, local traffic clogs the Queen Elizabeth Way, despite the provision of service roads, while long distance traffic continues to increase and plans for new subdivisions continue to appear. Similar developments are taking place along the corridors in other parts of Mississaga. The rural *non-farm* (which for the most part means *commuter*) population is increasing rapidly, far outnumbering the farm population which now makes up less than 7% of the total in the ten counties.

THE EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY

The war and post-war years have seen a spectacular expansion of industrial employment in Mississaga. Yet it cannot be regarded as exceptional, for the same sort of growth was experienced in the province and the country as a whole. Remembering that this activity constitutes more than 60% of the provincial total and about 30% of the national total, however, serves to emphasize the local space problem. There is every indication that the present pattern is the result of a trend which will continue for some time into the future. The strategic open spaces which have hitherto separated the urban nuclei are filling up rapidly. Peel and Halton counties, lying between Hamilton and Toronto, have had phenomenal growth. Scarborough's "Golden Mile", and Ajax and the expansion of Oshawa are also filling in the area east of Toronto. Other great areas of industrial growth are found south of Lake Ontario where the Niagara fruit farms are threatened with extinction.

TABLE 3 — Expansion of Employment in Manufacturing Industries, 1940–50

County	1940	1950	Decennial Change	
			Number	%
Brant.....	9,454	15,198	5,744	60.7
Halton.....	2,156	5,023	2,867	132.9
Lincoln.....	9,136	14,400	5,264	62.7
Ontario.....	7,469	13,193	5,724	76.6
Peel.....	1,935	6,785	4,850	250.6
Waterloo....	21,572	30,264	8,692	40.1
Welland.....	15,715	21,933	6,218	39.5
Wellington..	6,996	8,103	1,107	15.7
Wentworth..	40,406	56,838	16,432	40.6
York.....	121,267	189,777	68,510	56.5
Ten Counties	236,106	361,514	125,408	53.2
Province of Ontario...	372,643	566,513	193,870	51.8
Canada.....	762,244	1,183,297	421,053	55.2

Data from Dominion Bureau of Statistics

THE SEAWAY

It is not necessary to dwell in detail on the effects of the seaway. It is necessary only to point out that it will be a factor in the future expansion of Mississaga. Whether Hamilton or Toronto becomes the most important port does not matter greatly. Hamilton has already surpassed Toronto in cargo tonnage, because of the demand for coal and ore in the expanded iron and steel industry; but Toronto will undoubtedly continue to become more diversified. Special industries in other locations will undoubtedly be provided with port facilities such as have already been built at Clarkson and Port Credit. Modern dredging and construction could quickly create efficient small ports at Fairport, Ajax, Whitby and Oshawa if they should be needed. It is entirely likely that considerable development will take place in the Welland Canal zone. The Seaway, great as it will be, will not spark a new boom in Mississaga, but it will add force to the development which is already well on the way. It is one of the important factors with which future planning must be concerned.

PATTERNS OF THE FUTURE

A simple long term trend curve indicates that the population of Mississaga will reach 5,000,000 before the end of this century. At the present rate of growth that goal would be achieved in about half the time. There are many arguments against the creation of the supercity, but most people seek the 100% location in spite of them. Although it may be possible to ward off some of this influx by the development of satellite cities, Mississaga must find room for most of it.

Modern suburbia can accommodate ten to twelve thousand persons per square mile in purely residential subdivisions. To house 3,000,000 additional residents on the same standard will require about 300 square miles. To provide them with working space, parking, public buildings of all kinds and recreational facilities will require at least as much more. We may, of course, become even more expansive in our methods of occupying space, but even at present standards at least 600 square miles must be added to the built up urban area.

There is plenty of land, provided that its use is systematically planned and controlled. The ten counties have an area of more than 6,000 square miles, within which the municipalities now partly or wholly urbanized contain at least 3,000 square miles, while the solidly built-up areas cover slightly less than 500 square miles. The 5,000,000 citizens of the future conurbation, then, can be accommodated on less than half of the extent of those municipalities which are already involved in the process of urbanization. For a long time to come, it should be possible to preserve a considerable portion of the Niagara Fruit Belt for the special horticultural uses to which it is so well adapted. To keep such a powerful urban and industrial development within bounds, however, will require rather careful planning.

Planning is becoming the most important function of local government, but it is very hard to go about it in a logical manner. The geographic pattern of local government in Mississaga is now almost a complete anachronism. Its inadequacy comes to light every day in local municipal disputes. Local secessions and local annexations offer no real solution to these problems.

A completely new system of government for this region will be necessary in order that its best interests may be served. The same sort of problems which forced the creation of the Toronto Metropolitan government will eventually force a reorganization of the larger area. Mississaga may be too large a unit for the administration of some services, but it is obvious that the region needs an integration that cannot be provided by the present pattern of counties and municipalities. Instead, there is needed some sort of regional government under which there may be set up a system of metropolitan areas adjusted to local needs. A great deal of study is needed before any definite program may be suggested. Local studies are being made by every municipality but they are inadequate because they are concerned only with small areas. The problems of modern living are not confined within historic boundaries. Nothing less than a broad regional plan will suffice to provide an adequate framework for the full and harmonious development of Mississaga.

THE CHALLENGE OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH

by Albert Rose*

This article is based on an Address to the Provincial Conference of the Community Planning Association of Canada (Alberta Division), June 18, 1954.

THE problem of metropolitan growth is like a disease, and like a disease it is not confined to any one area or any one country. This disease has been described under a number of "catch-phrases": "suburbanitis", "metropolitanitis", "the decline of the cities", and so on. Whatever the description, the symptoms are identical in general and the diagnosis is clear. What proves to be extremely difficult is the prescription of the treatment and the ability of the patient or patients to face the logical outcome of the facts of their disease.

I prefer to avoid any of these "catch-phrases" and talk simply about "the metropolitan problem". It is important to recognize that in this designation there is implied not one problem but a complex series of interrelated problems which become continuously more serious as communities seek to adjust outmoded forms of organization and administration. In attempting to solve these difficulties and make these adjustments, no metropolitan area in the world has been entirely successful and few have been even partially successful.

In the First Report of the Committee on Metropolitan Problems of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, which had been asked by the City and twelve adjacent municipalities to study this question in 1948, a "metropolitan area" was defined as . . .

> ". . . a group of urban municipalities linked closely, physically, economically, and socially, so that in many ways they may be considered a single community. Almost always there is one large city as the centre of economic and social life in a metropolitan area. The 'central city' is a mother-city from which people move to establish suburban aggregations on the periphery."

The Report continues . . .

> "Metropolitan communities grow primarily from the inside outwards, rather than chiefly through the process of settlement by new people on the outskirts of the existing city. Residents of the central city, together with some new people move out beyond its boundaries and there are governed by established rural or semi-rural governments, or group together to found new governments of their own. They are replaced in the more densely populated central regions by new populations whose influx may even have played a part in the outward movement of older residents. The urban area spreads like a vast pancake; what is poured into the centre gradually oozing to the extremities."

In the growth process, the movement of population creates a whole host of problems, both for the central city and the suburban municipalities. The central city finds itself almost completely built up with little or no vacant land, and with a relatively stable or even declining population. This was and is certainly true in Toronto; it is not yet true of Edmonton. As the metropolitan area continues to expand a great strain is placed on the central city leading to the deterioration of some areas and the need for rehabilitation, slum clearance and urban redevelopment. The emphasis in the field of planning must be upon redevelopment rather than development.

With little or no vacant land and the great majority of young families migrating to the suburbs where they purchase homes, often in neighbourhoods which can be seen from the beginning to be future slums, the pressure for housing provision in the central city changes. There arises a pressure for rental housing at low or moderate rents, for public action to provide housing for those who cannot pay an economic rent, and for slum clearance and redevelopment in the form of public housing projects.

It is not usually realized that in addition to the direct pressure from within the City for capital expenditures in terms of housing, improved service installations, public transportation facilities, traffic improvements, redevelopment of blighted areas and so on, there are indirect pressures as well from the entire metropolitan area. The residents of the suburbs use city facilities—streets, arterial highways, shopping centres, public transportation services, recreational facilities and so on throughout the entire list—and these users are usually just as vocal, if not more insistent upon improved city facilities than city residents themselves. Capital and current expenditures of the central city are bound to rise as a result of these twin pressures.

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At the same time, the process of settlement of new urban areas on the fringe brings a whole series of problems for these relatively small municipalities. In particular, such settlements are faced with more than ordinary difficulties in the provision of basic municipal services such as water supply, sewage and garbage disposal facilities, police and fire protection and especially educational facilities. The rate of expansion is unusually rapid and these small metropolitan municipalities have to meet competition in the level of most services which they would not have to face were they distinctly separated from a metropolitan area.

Particular emphasis must be placed upon the difficulties involved in the necessary and substantial expansion of educational facilities. This involves the most serious problem of physical planning and capital and operational financing. Demands for educational provision of every kind, elementary schools, secondary and vocational schools, nursery schools, libraries and community centres, have become urgent in the suburban municipalities which are in no position to meet such demands adequately with present financial resources.

As the growth of population in the suburban municipalities far outstrips that in the central city in most metropolitan areas, there has usually occurred a great diversity in the type of growth to be found from one suburban municipality to the next. As transportation facilities improve, industry tends to locate within the suburban municipalities. Some municipalities obtain far more than their share of industrial assessment; others obtain very little. Some municipalities thus achieve a balance between industrial and commercial assessment on the one hand, and residential assessment on the other. Others, usually the majority of the municipalities, become rapidly unbalanced in the nature of their assessment and may be described familiarly as "dormitory suburbs". Large numbers of their residents work in the central city or in some other municipality and return in the evening and on weekends to eat and sleep in their home communities. They average more than one and sometimes two children per family and provide only a modest proportion of the tax revenue required to provide them with basic municipal services and schooling for their children.

In every metropolitan area a very few, usually one or two more fortunate municipalities, achieve a rather high level of municipal service provision at relatively modest cost to their property owners. These latter are often business and professional men of relatively high income occupying relatively expensive homes. Such municipalities are typically of 10,000 to 20,000 population in large metropolitan areas and correspondingly smaller in others.

Adjacent to these "have" communities are the "have nots". These dormitory municipalities are usually much larger in area and population, contain relatively little industrial and commercial development and often collect as much as 80-90% of total revenues from property taxes on residences. The residents find generally that the quality of physical planning has not been high; that they must "do without" or receive inadequate provision of such services as water supply, sewage disposal, street lighting, garbage disposal, sidewalks and paved streets, parks and recreational facilities. If many of their residents who are employed elsewhere suffer from unemployment or any one of a number of social disabilities, the "home" municipality is called upon to provide social assistance which may prove to be extremely costly.

An outstanding example of a dormitory municipality in the Toronto area is the Township of North York, a huge area of 45,000 acres, more than twice the size of the City proper. In 1945, the population of North York was about 30,000; as late as 1948 it was less than 38,000. Today its population is more than 120,000; and it is predicted that 200,000 persons will reside within its boundaries by 1960. During one period of 18 months in 1951-52, at least one elementary or high school was opened in North York Township every month. The magnitude of the problems of municipalities like this, with a residential assessment of at least 80% can well be imagined.

It is interesting to note as well that during the 1930's ten of the thirteen municipalities in the Toronto Metropolitan Area were in default on their debentures; that is, technically they were bankrupt. The three which remained outside receivership in the form of provincial supervision were the City of Toronto and the Villages of Forest Hill and Swansea.

The remarkable fact in most metropolitan areas is that many of the municipalities adjacent to the central city could not exist, could not service their residents, without a complex network of inter-municipal agreements whereby their people receive, most often, water, sewage disposal and public transportation services. In our studies in Toronto, we identified more than eighty of these agreements. In a number of cases, no living person knew the origin and history of these agreements; no one could justify their terms. It was a fact, however, that the most fortunate municipalities, as described previously, were those benefitting most directly from agreements with the central city.

These agreements served to highlight the most significant inter-relationships which exist in any metropolitan area; between the problems of providing municipal services, between the various municipalities, and of course, between the citizens of the area. This may be expressed another way by reiterating that a metropolitan area is a social and economic entity. This fact may be denied or not realized for some time and for some people, but the pressure of hard reality ultimately forces attention to the possible alternative solutions to the problems of metropolitan growth.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ACTION DESIGNED TO SOLVE METROPOLITAN PROBLEMS

It has been emphasized previously that the problems of metropolitan growth are not confined to any one area or any one country. Over the past century, the difficulties previously described in rather brief form have been encountered in London, Berlin, Paris, Stockholm, Copenhagen, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, to name but a few of the great metropolitan centres of the world. In this country, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, have been forced to face the potentially disastrous consequences of unplanned urban sprawl. The action taken varies greatly from metropolis to metropolis and includes every kind of partial solution imaginable. Few cities indeed have had the courage or the character of leadership necessary to visualize and encompass over all solutions.

In the borough systems of London and New York, we have two examples of over all programs which have been in operation for more than fifty years. Despite the similarity in name they are quite different forms of political and financial administration, and yet they are similar in that undeniably they have failed to meet the problems which they were designed to solve. In both cities there has been frank recognition during the past decade that the borough system has not solved the difficulties of metropolitan growth. The reasons for this conclusion are beyond the scope of this paper; but since so many Canadians have a sentimental attachment to the borough system as they knew it or know of it in London or New York, it seems important to point out that these alternatives are not the panacea they are often held to be.

During the past fifteen years in Canada there has been far more recognition in many cities that we are dealing with a complex of problems, the solution to which demands urgent and even drastic procedures. This does not imply by any means that a great body of the general public has begun to support action. The great controversy between those who favour and those who oppose serious action designed to overcome the infections which threaten to destroy our cities are confined to very few persons on each side. In almost every metropolitan situation there are a few personalities, like Frederick Gardiner and Oliver Crockford in Toronto, who dominate the discussions. As a whole the general public appears to be generally apathetic and whatever action results is usually achieved as a result of the initiative, the efforts and pressures of interested groups like the Civic Advisory Council and Women Electors' Association of Toronto, the Community Planning Association and its branches and other interested Citizens' organizations.

I do not propose to deal with the arguments in favour of action because I believe that the description of the characteristics of metropolitan growth provided earlier in this paper speaks for itself. It is difficult for me to understand how any citizen of the central city or the adjacent suburbs can stand back and allow our metropolitan areas to sink deeper into the despair which results from unplanned development. On the other hand, it is my opinion that the major arguments of those who favour the status quo are worthy of some attention. These arguments usually fall into four groupings which I shall describe as:

(1) "we have our own"
(2) "we are anxious to co-operate"
(3) "*we* have no housing shortage"
(4) "why should *we* pay for it?"

In the first of these arguments the leaders and residents of certain more fortunate fringe municipalities usually assert that their citizens are extremely well provided with municipal services, their level of provision and especially educational facilities are excellent, their tax rates are relatively low—and all this is possible within the confines of a single municipality. "The devil take the hindmost". While some of these contentions are more or less true, the fundamental fallacy in the argument stems from the fact that most often a number of their "own" municipal services are provided by agreement with other municipalities in the metropolitan area. When the supplying municipality finds its facilities taxed to provide minimal services for its own population there is usually a great deal of opposition to the continued supply of its more fortunate neighbour which does not have the problem of expanded capital installations. Moreover, this argument denies the fundamental facts of social and economic interrelatedness which have become so obvious in all metropolitan communities. The residents of the "have" municipalities are the very persons—the employers, executives and professional people—who derive their living from the economy of the central city or the metropolis as a whole.

The second argument, "we are anxious to co-operate", is the familiar "wait and see" approach employed by those municipalities which are neither very well off or very badly off under present conditions. The elected representatives and leaders in these communities continue to affirm their undying affection for co-operation while reserving the right to assess every proposal to the last penny of possible effect upon their municipality. These groups cannot be counted upon for support of positive action, but once action is taken, usually upon the authority of some senior level of government, they can be counted upon to take their place within the over all program without serious reservation.

A more important level of opposition comes from those persons who claim that the solution of metropolitan problems is designed only to alleviate the stringent housing shortage in the central city. This argument is a most unrealistic appraisal of the housing situation and arises from the fact that most suburban areas offer only housing for sale, and as each house is built, it is sold and occupied. Thus, statistically, as the population increases

the dwelling units designed to accommodate such population are created, or vice-versa. This differs from the situation in the central city where thousands of families are doubled-up, involuntarily for the most part, and whole neighbourhoods assume the character of rooming-houses, particularly where new-comers from other lands are accommodated. So the argument runs: that the creation of a metropolitan government is designed to solve the housing problems of the city at the expense of those municipalities which claim to have no housing shortage. The fact is, of course, that the whole area has a housing shortage of tremendous magnitude which is neither the responsibility of the city or the suburbs to solve alone, but the responsibility of the social and economic entity which constitutes the metropoltian area.

The last set of arguments, "why should *we* pay for it?", is of course, equally fallacious. It might be asked, with equal sense, why any of us should pay for any service provided by our three levels of government. To some extent we pay because we have to do so, but primarily because we want the services which our taxes provide. The same persons who argued in the Toronto area that they, in their autonomous local municipaltiy, should not have to pay for the solution of metropolitan problems, were among the loudest exponents of traffic arteries, the building of the subway, the improvement of the water supply and sewage disposal facilities within the city, from all of which they could see direct benefit. Moreover, as employers of labour from every part of the metropolitan area, they thought little, during a depression or period of seasonal unemployment, of the responsibilities of the dormitory municipalities for the welfare of their fellow employees.

The undeniable fact is that metropolitan growth, like a disease, knows no boundaries, let alone municipal boundaries which are man-made and often quite artificial. All citizens are affected by the difficulties which arise or will be affected sooner or later. No municipality can live alone in a metropolitan area and its citizens can no more pursue their isolated and selfish interests than any nation can isolate itself and live alone in this world at the present time.

THE ESSENTIALS OF THE SOLUTION ATTEMPTED IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO

It must be clear that no proposal would have been implemented in the Toronto metropolitan area without the direct interference of the Provincial Government. Although a great deal of interest had been aroused in these matters after the end of the war and a major investigation had been launched by the Civic Advisory Council in 1948, the City and all but one of the suburban municipalities were solidly arraigned on opposite sides. The City, which bears a large share of responsibility for the chaos which had developed since 1920, took the view that the only possible solution was the creation of one huge city, to be called Toronto, which would unite the suburbs and the city proper in an unitary extension of the political and administrative responsibilities of the central city.

Accordingly, in January 1950, the City of Toronto applied to the Ontario Municipal Board for an order amalgamating all thirteen municipalities within the metropolitan area into one political unit. This process, which was better known for half a century as "annexation", was the traditional method whereby cities expanded their boundaries and were enabled to grow as required. Unfortunately, since the end of World War I, this technique has fallen into disfavour, not only in the Toronto area but throughout North America. Annexation was everywhere resisted as an invasion of local autonomy and destruction of citizen participation in government.

On the other hand, eleven of the twelve suburban municipalities opposed amalgamation and suggested a variety of other approaches. Most, however, favoured the preservation of the status quo, and hoped that in some mysterious fashion the problems would solve themselves, probably through the extension of already existing inter-municipal agreements. Some municipalities favoured the creation of special administrative commissions for the provision of specified services. To support these proposals, they pointed to the success of the Metropolitan Police Commission in London, the Port of New York Authority, the Vancouver Metropolitan Health Board, the Greater Winnipeg Water District and even the Toronto Transportation Commission.

In summary, the case against the City of Toronto ran something like this: a federal, rather than a unitary approach to the solution of political, social and economic problems is more democratic and is consistent with the Canadian pattern; in any event the City of Toronto has a poor record as far as planning is concerned and the local municipalities should not be entrusted to an administration with a long history of neglect of some of its most profound problems; finally, every effort should be made to preserve local interest and citizen participation in the affairs of our municipalities and this will be less likely if a huge city is created.

These arguments bore considerable weight with both the Ontario Municipal Board and its parent, the Government of Ontario. In February 1953, Premier Frost personally introduced Bill 80, an Act to Provide for the Federation of the Municipalities in the Toronto Metropolitan Area. This Act, which set up an interim metropolitan administration on April 15, 1953, came into full force on January 1, 1954, although certain aspects of public transportation were finalized as late as July 1st of this year.

Bill 80 was actually a compromise between the opposing views but certainly an almost complete rejection of the unitary, or "one big city" approach. The Act

created a new political unit, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, now familiarly known as "Metro", with a Metropolitan Council consisting of 12 representatives from the City and one each, the Mayor or Reeve, from the suburban municipalities. The chairman of the Metropolitan Council, Mr. Frederick G. Gardiner, Q.C., was appointed by the Government of Ontario, but his successors, from January 1, 1955 may be elected from within the Metropolitan Council or from outside that body.

The Act set up, as well, a Metropolitan School Board, with the same pattern of representation, half from the city, and half from the suburbs, although the chairman was elected from within the Board from the very beginning.

The most significant fact is that the thirteen local councils continue to exist and serve the city and the twelve suburbs which are now known collectively as the "area municipalities". Certain functions of all local councils have been assumed by the Metropolitan Council but otherwise the municipalities exist as before. Thus the solution determined for the Toronto Metropolitan Area enables the municipalities to continue their traditions, preserve their identity, and to continue to administer local services while uniting with all the municipalities in the area to provide services which are metropolitan in nature.

The distribution of functions between the metropolitan government and the local governments may be described very simply as follows:

FUNCTIONS OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

Water Supply. Construction and maintenance of pumping stations, treatment plants, trunk mains and reservoirs for the wholesale distribution of water to the thirteen municipalities.

Sewage Disposal. Construction and maintenance of trunk sewer mains and sewage treatment plants to provide a metropolitan sewage disposal system which will accept sewage on a wholesale basis from the area municipalities.

Roads. The designation of highways as metropolitan roads and the establishment of an arterial system of highways. Financing is split evenly with the Province.

Transportation. The former Toronto Transportation Commission has become the Toronto Transit Commission and is responsible for public transportation throughout the metropolitan area.

Education. The Metropolitan School Board is responsible for the coordination of educational facilities in the Metropolitan area and will pay a grant to each of the thirteen local school boards which continue to exist, in respect of every primary, secondary and vocational school pupil.

Health and Welfare. The Metropolitan Council is responsible for the provision of homes for the aged, the maintenance of wards of Children's Aid Societies, post-sanatorium care for T.B. patients and the hospitalization of indigent patients.

Justice. The Metropolitan Corporation must provide a Court House and jail and maintain these.

Housing. The Metropolitan Corporation has all of the powers of a municipality in the fields of housing and redevelopment.

Planning. A Metropolitan Planning Board has been created with authority extending beyond the metropolitan area to encompass all adjoining townships. It will prepare an official plan for this entire metropolitan planning area.

Parks. The Metropolitan Corporation has the power to establish metropolitan parks.

Finance and Taxation. The Metropolitan Council is responsible for the uniform assessment of all lands and buildings in the entire thirteen municipalities.

On the basis of the total assessment the requirements of the metropolitan government will be levied against each area municipality as a uniform mill rate. The local government will then collect the metropolitan tax requirement and its own requirements from its own taxpayers.

All debenture financing will be undertaken by the Metropolitan Corporation for itself and on behalf of any local government in the area. As well, the Corporation has assumed the school debenture debts of each municipality and has acquired all assets of the local municipalities required for metropolitan services.

FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

Water Supply. Local distribution systems and retail sale of water to consumers.

Sewage Disposal. Local sewage collection.

Garbage Collection. Left entirely with the area municipalities.

Roads. The construction and maintenance of local streets and sidewalks.

Police. Left entirely with the area municipalities.

Fire. Left entirely with the area municipalities.

Education. The local Board of Education continues and must finance the cost of a standard of education above the level of metropolitan grants, if it desires to go beyond the basic standard.

Health and Welfare Services. Public health in the municipal or health unit, unemployment relief, maintenance of non-wards, social work services.

Housing. The local councils continue to possess all powers with respect to housing and redevelopment.

Planning. Local planning boards may be created or continued and are expected to plan in conformity with the over all metropolitan plan.

Parks and Recreation. Creation and maintenance of local parks.

Finance and Taxation. On the basis of the uniform assessment the local council will collect the revenues required to provide local services.

The first Metropolitan Budget has just been approved and the first Metropolitan Tax Rate struck. The total metropolitan budget will be nearly $43 millions for 1954, nearly $35 millions of which must come from the thirteen municipalities. The balance of about $8 millions will come from a Provincial Grant of $4 per capita per

annum to the Metropolitan Corporation on a population of perhaps 1,200,000, and from other revenues of metropolitan departments such as water supply and sewage disposal. On a total assessment of just under $2½ billions, this budget has meant a tax rate of 14.52 mills for metropolitan purposes. The rate for the City of Toronto was accordingly set at 43.5 mills, including the metropolitan levy, constituting an increase of 2.2 mills for Toronto taxpayers.

It is anticipated that mill rates will increase in many of the thirteen municipalities. It should be obvious, however, that under previous conditions they would have risen in all probability, and perhaps to a greater extent. No one will ever know; so that speculation is a waste of time. The major facts are that Toronto, with 62% of total assessment, will pay that proportion of the costs of metropolitan government. The large industrial assessment of the city and one or two suburbs has been spread throughout the area to provide services for the entire population. This is particularly evident when you observe that more than $23 millions of the total metropolitan budget of $42 millions will be devoted to education.

The total budget for the city of Toronto for 1954 will be nearly $64 millions including the metropolitan levy. It is reported that the mill rate of 43.5 breaks down in the following manner for a public school supporter:

Metropolitan primary schooling	7.15 mills
Metropolitan secondary schooling	2.97 mills
Metropolitan general purposes	4.93 mills
	15.05 mills
City Board of Education	5.99 mills
City general purposes	22.46 mills
Total City tax rate	43.50 mills

It is pointed out that in the city 15.05 mills will be required to raise the Metro levy of 14.52 mills, because of the graded exemptions which are applied to homes with relatively low assessment. It is enteresting to note that the costs of education for city taxpayers will be about 37% of the total levy. It will be more than 50% for a number of other area municipalities.

These are the essentials of the over all solution to the problems of metropolitan growth which is being attempted in the Toronto metropolitan area. It is, of course, too early to appraise the contribution which this bold and vigorous political and administrative program will make. At meetings of the Metropolitan Council, proposals for capital expenditures flow thick and fast. Whether or not they are the most appropriate proposals remains to be seen. For some people, Metro has been a latter-day miracle, not to be questioned or criticized. For others, in some important respects, which I shall mention in my closing remarks, Metro has been a great disappointment, even in the very short period of its existence.

THE MULTIPLE CHALLENGE OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH

It should be clear and must be emphasized that there are many facets to the challenge of metropolitan growth. First of all it is a challenge to all citizens—a challenge to their initiative, determination and courage to visualize and implement positive solutions for the most serious municipal problems of the present century. To the extent to which we meet this challenge with imagination and forthrightness, future generations will praise our vision. To the extent to which we take refuge in the status quo and weigh every decision to the last penny of the taxpayer's dollar, there is a very great chance that future generations will condemn us within even a very few years. We must cast off our sloth and break through our inertia to face squarely some of the most significant and disturbing difficulties of community living.

The challenge is clearly a political challenge, a challenge to our resourcefulness in creating new political and administrative forms to meet new and profoundly greater problems. Political change is always threatening; it breaks with tradition; it disturbs inertia; it threatens some people particularly because to them change always implies revolution. Yet it has been seen clearly in a great many metropolitan areas that the chance for a successful over all solution to the questions raised by metropolitan growth depends upon the development of a new form of government, perhaps a fourth level of government as in the Toronto area. This suggests wastefulness and confusion to some people; but there is no evidence to date in the Toronto metropolitan area to support this view.

As well, metropolitan growth implies a social and economic challenge: the possibility of providing a better community life for great numbers of people. If municipal services are to be provided adequately, if the problem of housing is to be tackled with all the resources available, and if growth is to be controlled through the techniques of planning, then the only possible result can be better living conditions for most citizens. If these accomplishments are to be achieved, however, the social objectives must be recognized and given priority and we must divest ourselves of the social prejudices such as those which forestall public action in the field of housing.

It is precisely in these aspects of the challenge that I can already discern the elements of failure in the Toronto situation. The Metropolitan Council has apparently decided that, beyond homes for the aged, the best contribution which it can make to the solution of the housing shortage is the provision of service extensions to increase the supply of serviced land.[1] Granted that

[1] Recently, however, it has been announced that the Metropolitan Council will embark on a 1500 unit full-recovery rental housing project in cooperation with the Federal-Provincial partnership. A limited dividend housing company has been created to build self-contained rental accommodation for aged persons.

this is a desirable objective, it will do nothing to solve the dilemma for those in dire need of housing, for the great majority living in totally inadequate housing accommodation and for those whose income is inadequate and may always be insufficient to allow them to enter the housing market. This is occurring despite the emphasis placed upon housing by the Prime Minister of Ontario, when he introduced the Bill which created Metropolitan Toronto.

A Metropolitan parks authority has not been created, and not one penny is budgetted for 1954 for the development and maintenance of metropolitan parks. A sum of $500,000 is provided in capital account for the purchase of green-belt lands; but if such purchase is made in 1954 there is no department to administer such properties.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the challenge is that of metropolitan planning. Here there are signs that the Metropolitan Council in Toronto is little more than a pale reflection of the planning inadequacies of the past. It is true that as a result of pressure, the planning area was more broadly conceived than the boundaries of the thirteen municipalities. But the planners in charge are the very people who formed the planning staff of the City of Toronto in the past three decades with the same limited conceptions of planning. To them, it would appear, community planning begins and ends with traffic arteries, expressways and transportation facilities. It is interesting to note too, that the City of Toronto has for all practical purposes abandoned its Planning Department. Just as the Council of Coventry threw up its hands when it learned of the dire consequences of the hydrogen bomb and abandoned civil defence, so the Board of Control in Toronto threw up its hands in the planning field when it came to consider its responsibility for planning within the metropolitan area.[2]

The major challenge, in conclusion, is that of devising an over all program whereby the metropolitan area will be permitted to grow. If it is true that the central city is suffering from a serious disease and that the suburban municipalities are suffering from other manifestations of the same disease, it may seem strange that the "doctors" would prescribe a federation of the city and the suburbs. Yet this is precisely the only way in which growth may be enabled to proceed. Of particular interest to us is the planned development of that growth. Planning must become one of the most important if not *the* most important function of metropolitan government, and such planning must occur over a much broader region than that of the metropolitan area *per se*. Planning must visualize growth over many decades if not for a half a century ahead at least.

Planning implies control of growth and the orderly development of urbanization. Control and order are not necessarily compatible with profit, and in fact are often incompatible with the rights of individuals to exploit growth for private profit. This conflict must be faced squarely and is the essence of the planning challenge. Yet without the vision and the orderly plan of development there can be no guarantee that the creation of a metropolitan form of government will result in anything but a recurrence of the chaos which we are seeking to remove and avoid. It is precisely at this point that all citizens must redouble their efforts and their vigilance.

In every metropolitan area some special difficulty presents itself as the prime sore spot of current consideration. In Montreal, which has recently had its Charter amended to create a Commission for the study of metropolitan government, a major problem appears to be the licensing and control of taxis. In Toronto the problems of housing, water supply and sewage disposal received major consideration. It would appear that provision of educational facilities has emerged as the sore spot in Edmonton. If this is true it must be emphasized that sole and major emphasis upon the alleviation of the "sore spot" of the moment must be taken with great caution.

If the argument of this paper is substantially correct, there will emerge, in due course, other serious problems of equal importance. The danger is that each problem will be treated alone as it arises and receive public attention. The result will be a series of special administrative commissions to administer specific services at the expense of an over all solution to the complex of metropolitan problems.

It is to be hoped that the citizens in the smaller metropolitan areas in Canada will have the opportunity to visualize, to understand and to attack the whole complex to the benefit of the entire region within which our difficulties arise.

[2] Since the above paragraph was written a considerable reorganization has occurred; staff has been increased substantially and a research division created. A much broader conception of the planning function in Metropolitan Toronto appears possible within a year or two.

APPENDIX 1

REGIONAL PLANNING ORGANIZATION IN CANADA

Regional Planning in British Columbia

by T. McDonald*

There is a growing recognition that planning to be effective must go beyond artificial boundaries created when Cities and Municipalities were established.

In British Columbia, this recognition has found expression in two areas of the Province where Regional Planning Boards are in operation. One of these is in the area known as the Lower Fraser Valley, where the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board operates; the other is the area covered by the Capital Region Planning Board, situated in the Southern portion of Vancouver Island.

The Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board came into existence in June 1949 through declaration by the Minister of Municipal Affairs. The area comprises roughly 1,500 square miles and extends from Hope at the beginning of the Fraser Canyon to the sea at Vancouver. It contains twenty-six local governments, six cities, sixteen district municipalities and four villages. The Board's budget is about $25,000 per year and supports a staff of six. The Provincial Government, the City of Vancouver and the remaining Municipalities of the region each pay about one-third of the total budget. Cost to the Municipalities, other than the city of Vancouver, amounts to three cents per capita per annum.

The Board acts in an advisory capacity but can assist municipalities with their own local planning problems by making technical staff available for such purpose. It has advised and assisted Provincial Government departments working within the region. Its studies and data are available to those desiring to establish a business within the area and to other public bodies. The Board has also prepared the following studies and reports:

The Lower Mainland Looks Ahead (a general survey of the region);

A Preliminary Economic Study of the Proposed Rosedale-Agassiz Bridge;

The Case for the Haigh-Agassiz Road;

The Development of Burnaby Lake (a study of the Metropolitan Park situation);

Airports for the Lower Mainland;

Metropolitan Park for the Lower Mainland Area;

The Greater Vancouver Metropolitan Community (a preliminary factual study).

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The Board has also assisted in the preparation of legislation on such matters as authorized controlled-access highways and to improve the administration of land subdivision.

The Capital Region Planning Board was gazetted in December 1951. The area of its operation is the southern tip of Vancouver Island and embraces about one hundred square miles containing one city and four municipalities: the City of Victoria and the Municipalities of Saanich, Esquimalt and Oak Bay. The budget of the Board has been set this year at about $20,000 with the Provincial Government providing $10,000 of this sum.

The activities of the Board to date have been mainly those of organization. The staff of the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board has assisted in this regard and Mr. J. W. Wilson, the Executive-Director of the L.M.R.P.B. has been on loan to prepare a survey of the Capital Region. The Board at the moment is considering applications for a Planning Director.

Although only two Regional Planning Boards exist in British Columbia, there is evidence that other areas within the Province are thinking in terms of regional planning. In the interior of the Province, in the Lower Columbia River Basin—West Kootenay Area, a fact-finding committee has been busily engaged in studying the possibilities for regional planning. Representatives from Trail, Tadanac, Nelson, Kinnaird, Castlegar, Rossland, Warfield, Fruitvale and Salmo make up this committee and from the latest information, the committee is awaiting word that the various Councils have forwarded to the Minister of Municipal Affairs a request for a Regional Planning Area to be established. The area to be defined has been left to the British Columbia Government officials, the municipalities concerned and the surrounding districts.

It should be pointed out that under the *Town Planning Act*, it is not compulsory for municipalities or cities within the declared area to become members of the Board.

Under the *Town Planning Act*, boards for regional areas are comprised of one member, who is appointed by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, and one member from each of the municipalities within the prescribed area. Each municipality appoints an advisory member to the Board, such member to be the engineer of the municipality; or where there is no engineer, some other official is appointed to act as an advisory member of the Board. Advisory members, however, do not have a vote. Each member of the Board is appointed for a three-year term, but the chairman is chosen annually by the Board from amongst its members. No compensation is paid to the members for their services. The Board appoints an executive committee, but such committee cannot make any expenditure without authorization of the Board.

It is the duty of the Board to prepare a plan for the future physical development and improvement of the area in a systematic and orderly manner, based primarily upon public convenience and general welfare, through the economic use of land, improved facilities for traffic, transportation, sewage disposal, water supply, institutions, schools, parks, recreation and other public requirements. When plans, or work in connection therewith, affecting a municipality are being considered by the executive committee of the Board, the member of the Board for that municipality shall sit and vote as a member of the executive committee and the advisory member may also be required to attend such meetings.

Where a plan affects conditions in unorganized territory, the plan is forwarded to the Regional Planning Division of the Provincial Government, Department of Municipal Affairs.

The Board is empowered to appoint such technical staff as may be necessary, and salary for such staff is paid from the general fund of the Board. At the beginning of each year, the Board must prepare a budget which must be submitted to each member Council, with the estimation of the portion to be paid by such Council.

Regional Planning in British Columbia appears to be following a natural course of expansion, which has been nurtured and fostered by citizens with an enthusiastic vision and conviction of the great possibilities of orderly and economic development beyond those boundaries delineated by municipal decree. That such citizens have been able to convey their enthusiasm to those in authority is worthy of note.

Regional Planning in Alberta

by L. Gertler*

Regional planning in Alberta is made possible by means of district planning commissions, which are independent, provincial-municipal agencies, established under the authority of the *Town and Rural Planning Act*. Initiative for the formation of such planning bodies rests with the local authorities. The Cabinet will establish a commission, by Order-in-Council, upon receiving "an application made by the councils of two or more municipalities". A link with the Province is provided by the appointment to the commission of representatives of various departments of government:—Municipal Affairs, Education, Highways and Agriculture. No financial formula is provided in the Act, it simply authorizes the Government to prescribe the proportions in which costs are to be shared by the represented municipalities and the Province. A commission is empowered to prepare general plans for the constituent municipalities and to advise and assist on problems of intermunicipal planning and development. On this basis, there has been established since 1950, four district planning commissions, with planning districts centering on the cities of Edmonton, Calgary, Red Deer and Medicine Hat.

The Act, of course, does not tell the whole story. Government policy, further expressed in the establishing order, provides that half of the annual cost of operation be borne by the Province. With this assistance each commission has been able to establish an office and hire a technical staff. While initiative must be local, *the Town and Rural Planning Branch* has provided stimulus and leadership towards the formation of district commissions and continues to do so in growth centres, such as Lethbridge and the Peace River area. From the provincial point-of-view a district planning commission is a device for decentralization of planning administration—a means of spreading services in a vast province where settlement extends as far as four hundred miles north and south of the capital city. This provincial aim is realized, in part, by the designation of the commission, both in Edmonton and Calgary, as "approving authority" for subdivision applications—an important planning prerogative which includes, incidentally, the retention of approval fees.

The work of the district planning commissions is made effective, as well, by the statutory requirement that general plans be prepared by "qualified persons". In the fulfillment of this function of technical advice within the planning district, the staff maintains a week-to-week personal contact with the people of the member municipalities through their local planning committees, which are advisory or exercise interim development control. While this relationship has produced more than one ulcer, it is the vital relationship out of which planning measures are woven, by degrees, into the fabric of local government.

A short descriptive statement of this kind tends to emphasize positive features, to the neglect of serious difficulties, of which there are not a few. For example, the manner in which district planning commissions originate—by application of two or more municipalities—does not provide any assurance that the planning district will be large enough for effective regional planning. At one extreme, the Edmonton District includes 14 municipalities and extends over 4,000 square miles, while, at the other extreme, the Medicine Hat District consists of the City itself, 144 square miles of surrounding farm land and the Town of Redcliff. And then there is the problem inherent in any multi-municipal agency, namely the separation of the preparatory and implementation stages of planning. The first stage is on a comprehensive, area-wide basis, while the final stage depends on co-ordinated local action. In the Edmonton metropolitan area, the implementation of the *Outline General Plan* depends upon enabling action, by zoning or interim development by-laws, of 7 constituent municipalities, not all of which feel the need for maintenance of the Plan with a uniform sense of urgency. There are these problems and more. But the capacity of the people of Alberta to adjust forms of government to meet experience-demonstrated needs, provides a basis for reasonably cautious optimism.

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Metropolitan Planning in the Winnipeg Area

by Eric W. Thrift*

The Metropolitan Planning Commission was originally established in 1944 as an ad hoc committee with representatives from all of the municipalities making up the Greater Winnipeg urban area. In 1949 the Metropolitan Planning Act was passed by the Manitoba Legislature establishing the Metropolitan Planning Commission. This Commission and the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission work in direct conjunction with one another and there are four common members.

During the days of the existence of the Metropolitan Planning Committee, 1944-1947, a comprehensive plan was prepared for the Greater Winnipeg area which has since been used as a basis for detailed planning recommendations and decisions.

Under the Act, the Commission is composed of representatives from the municipal, town and city councils in the Greater Winnipeg area. At present there are eleven member municipal governments, including the cities of Winnipeg and St. Boniface. The operations of the Commission are financed on a per capita basis based on the last Dominion Census. While the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission operates as a separate body, as do a number of planning commissions in several of the municipalities, the technical work is all carried on by the office of the Metropolitan Planning Commission. The Planning staff study all manner of planning problems from the most detailed problems of site design through to the broadest problems of planning systems for the whole of the metropolitan area. The office maintains close liaison with all municipal and civic offices, particularly with the several departments of the City of Winnipeg administration in order to achieve the utmost in cooperation and understanding in the day to day handling of planning and development problems.

Joint Planning Under Ontario's Planning Act

by Norah Johnson*

Ontario's 40-odd active "Joint" Planning Areas, locally initiated at various times since the passage of the Planning Act in 1946, now cover about 160 of the 926 local municipalities in the Province, with a "Joint" Planning Board for each Area. Within twelve of these Areas, there is at least one "Subsidiary" Planning Area, making a total of about 35 "Subsidiary" Planning Boards which are like those appointed by 90 other municipalities throughout the province in serving only a single city, town, township or local improvement district, although it is possible for a Subsidiary Planning Area to cover more than one municipality. Any Planning Board for any type of Planning Area is responsible for making one or a series of "Official Plans" for all or part of its Area and for carrying out subdivision control duties specified in the Act.

The three largest Joint Planning Areas are those for Metropolitan Toronto (715 square miles; 1,300,000 population), Hamilton (about 380 square miles; 270,000 population) and Ottawa (about 370 square miles; 240,000 population), covering 26, 11 and 8 municipalities respectively. But more than half of all the Joint Planning Areas established so far are made up of a town or village and one or two bordering townships, covering from 50 to 100 square miles and from 2,000 to 25,000 population. Most of the municipalities bordering Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River as well as those in already established industrial areas have set up one or another type of Planning Board.

As described in the Planning Act, a Planning Area "shall consist of one municipality or of such municipalities and parts of municipalities as in the opinion of the Minister of Planning and Development—constitute a complete planning unit having regard for the purposes for which the planning area is defined". It may include adjacent areas which are not municipally organized—found only in the "Districts" of Northern Ontario.

The procedures in setting up a Joint Planning Area begin with a joint application from the municipal councils concerned to the Minister of Planning and Development to define the Planning Area. One municipality is chosen as the "designated municipality" charged with preparing and recommending the Official Plan; it appoints the Joint Planning Board subject to the Minister's approval. The Board is made up of 4, 6 or 8 members and the head of the designated municipality's council. (The Minister may vary the constitution and functions of the Planning Board to suit the needs of any particular Area.) Municipal employees are not eligible. Members of a municipal council may not constitute a majority; they are annually appointed while the remaining members can hold office for three years, a third retiring every year.

To encourage a fair system of Joint Planning Board financing, recent amendments to the Planning Act make it mandatory for the Boards to submit estimates of finances each year to all the municipal councils in the Area showing the proportions to be contributed by each. If the amounts are approved (or amended and approved) by the municipalities representing a majority of the population in the Area, each municipality is required to pay its apportionment. This can be done through the County if it happens to contain all or most of the municipalities in the Area and is so authorized by the Minister. Provision is made for appeal to the Ontario Municipal Board if the final amounts are unsatisfactory to any municipality.

The Planning Act sets up a close administrative relationship between the Community Planning Branch of the

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* Mrs. Johnson is the author of *Outlines of Canadian Planning Law*, published by COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA, Ottawa, 1952.

Department of Planning and Development and the Planning Boards: all subdivision plans throughout the Province require the Minister's approval. From the defining of a Planning Area to the approval of an Official Plan or any changes in such a Plan, opportunities are provided for the Branch to help in shaping local development policies. No financial assistance is available to Planning Boards from the Province, but the Branch is giving an increased amount of general technical guidance in the form of bulletins and exhibits describing community planning principles and procedures.

As it has turned out, the typical Joint Planning Area is composed of a large or small urban centre together with its overspill zone. The Planning Act has been seen chiefly as providing a way for towns and cities to work with the immediately adjacent municipalities in dealing with the severe problems brought by new industry, new population and new mobility.

For any size of Joint Planning Area, comprehensive Official Plans, to date, are rare, though this is not necessarily a valid criterion of the Act's effectiveness. Toronto, with its new metropolitan government, is making a fresh start toward coordinated planning of communication, sanitation, metropolitan parks and public transportation. Together with Ottawa, where the Federal District Commission handles many aspects of the capital's development within and beyond the Planning Area, the Toronto area is a special case among the metropolitan areas using the Planning Act. Cities such as Hamilton, London and Kitchener have succeeded, in varying degrees, in achieving certain cooperative arrangements with adjacent municipalities through a Joint Planning Board having its own technical staff, services of a consultant or both. Nevertheless, in common with the numerous Joint Planning Boards that cannot afford to employ technical advice, the most difficult task is to get recommendations carried out by the constituent municipalities. Where there is a lively controversy over annexation, joint planning efforts are severely obstructed. On the other hand, if political conditions are favourable, with adequate finances for the services of consultants and qualified staff, Joint Planning Boards can be most effective in their subdivision control duties and in influencing the trends of development over the entire Planning Area. But without sufficient funds the members of a Joint Board for a small Area in a rapidly growing region must themselves undertake all the work involved in passing on sales of land, studying proposed subdivision plans or in preparing zoning and building by-laws.

The Planning Act is not considered suitable for creating a Joint Planning Area for, say, the Niagara Peninsula or the Upper St. Lawrence Valley, where many small Planning Areas already exist. The Act has not been recognized as a method by which to set up an Area that includes a large rural hinterland needing attention in planning on the scale implied by the term "region". It will be seen that British Columbia legislation provides for this type of planning, much land being under direct provincial jurisdiction in that province.

Southern Ontario already has two types of local authorities with a broad scope of territory and whose activities are concerned with rural as well as urban development. These are the Conservation Authorities operating in at least 15 of the watersheds, and the 43 Counties—the traditional form of intermediate government for rural municipalities (townships, towns and villages) in the southernmost part of the province. Under the Conservation Act, urban and rural municipalities can join in planning and carrying out flood prevention, water, soil and forest conservation measures, with financial and technical assistance from the province. Set up as a result of local application, the conservation districts do not cover all the areas where the need exists, as is the case with Joint Planning Areas. The size and boundaries of the Counties are becoming increasingly obsolete and the powers of their councils are limited. But County road policies and County Health Unit standards, for example, have an important bearing on the development of rural centres and summer cottage areas.

For statistical purposes, Ontario is divided into 19 "Economic Regions", using county and district boundaries, with annual data provided by the Ontario bureau of Statistics and Research. Geographers have defined yet other regions, large and small. Much analytical material exists, but if regional planning is conceived of as going beyond metropolitan or special-function areas, even more study must be made of administrative requirements on both provincial and local levels.

APPENDIX 2

TOWARD REGIONAL PLANNING: BRITISH AND EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

by S. D. Lash*

A logical system of land use planning might be expected to start at the national level and gradually permeate to the lowest forms of local government. It seldom happens this way. Planning starts as a means of solving purely local problems, and only slowly is it realized that the intelligent solution to such local problems requires a regional approach. At the same time, national policies may be established which can be realized only by regional planning actions. It is often discovered that the regional organizations needed for such planning do not exist. Thus the regional level of planning is often the last to come into existence, although it is probably the level at which planning can most effectively be carried out. Mumford has written that "the re-animation of rebuilding of regions as deliberate works of collective art is the grand task of politics for the coming generation".[1]

In Canada we will be wise if we profit from the experiences of older and more highly urbanized countries in this matter, especially Great Britain. This does not mean that we should copy blindly, but merely that we should seek to learn from the errors and successes of others.

GREAT BRITAIN

The progress from local toward regional planning in Great Britain was accomplished by painful experimentation.

The earliest planning legislation, the *Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909* was concerned only with "land in the course of development or land likely to be used for building purposes" and thus applied only to the planning of urban extensions. Such planning was placed in the hands of local councils of boroughs, urban or rural districts. Planning authority was never placed at the lowest level of local government: the parish council.

The Act of 1909 was virtually ineffective and was amended by the Act of 1919. This Act permitted local authorities to exercise certain planning powers before the completion of a formal planning scheme (a system known as "interim development control") and permitted local authorities to co-operate in establishing joint committees to exercise planning powers. Moreover, the Act *required* boroughs or urban districts with a population of more than 20,000 to prepare planning schemes, and county councils were given powers to act if the local authorities failed to prepare such schemes.

The *Local Government Act* of 1929 empowered county councils to act jointly with local councils in the preparation of planning schemes and to contribute to their cost. It also permitted local councils to relinquish their planning powers to county councils if they so desired.

The *Town and Country Planning Act, 1932*, extended planning powers to all land, whether urban or rural, subject to the approval of the Minister, and gave the Minister authority to require local Councils to prepare planning schemes; but it repealed the previous general provision requiring all boroughs having a population of more than 20,000 to prepare plans. (Most boroughs had failed to do so anyway.) The Act of 1932 prescribed the constitution of joint planning committees in detail.

The *Restriction of Ribbon Development Act 1935* placed upon county councils the responsibility of controlling development along "classified roads" (roughly the equivalent of provincial and county roads in Ontario).

The *Town and Country Planning Act, 1943* placed all land not already under control by either a planning scheme or interim development control under the latter form of control. The *Town and Country Planning Act, 1944* gave local planning authorities power to purchase land compulsorily under simpler and more expeditious procedure than was previously available. It was intended primarily to aid the redevelopment of areas of war damage and obsolete development.

The *Distribution of Industry Act, 1945* implemented the recommendations made by the Barlow Commission in 1940 that steps be taken to regulate the location of industry having in mind the encouragement of decentralization or dispersal from congested urban areas and the needs of depressed areas. Extensive powers to control the location of industry were placed in the hands of the Board of Trade.

The *New Towns Act, 1946* and the *Town Development Act, 1952* provided for the creation of "new towns" and the rapid expansion of existing towns. The primary purpose of these acts was to encourage town development either by the expansion of existing towns or by the building of new towns in such a way as to relieve congestion in the great cities, especially London. Fourteen new towns are now under construction and it is expected that many existing towns will be expanded.

The *National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949* provided for the establishment of national parks, for

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[1]Mumford, L., *Culture of Cities*, 2nd ed. Page 348.

ascertaining and maintaining footpaths and other public rights of way and for the provision of means of access to the open country. Several national parks have been established under the provisions of this Act and a record of all public footpaths is approaching completion.

The *Town and Country Planning Act, 1947* as amended by the Acts of 1953 and 1954 established a system of land-use planning which has the support of all political parties and is likely to remain a permanent feature of local government in the United Kingdom. This Act transferred planning powers in rural areas from local councils to County Councils; it required every local planning authority (County Council or County Borough) to carry out a planning survey and prepare a development plan for its area; it required permission to be obtained for development of any kind; and it conferred new powers on local authorities to acquire land to further the provisions of a development plan. All these features of the Act have met with general approval. In addition, however, the Act of 1947 tried to solve the old problem of compensation and betterment by the drastic step of nationalizing development values. This feature of the Act was very unpopular and was repealed by the Acts of 1953 and 1954.

It has been made clear by successive governments that planning legislation is intended to advance national policies concerning land use. These policies were clearly stated by the Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, during the debate on the 1953 Bill.

> "Planning in its broad sense has come to stay to preserve good agricultural land; to encourage the development we want in the proper places; to secure the exploitation of valuable mineral deposits; to restrain the inter-war sprawl of the growing cities and to preserve the countryside."[2]

Planning Administration

From the preceding review it might be supposed that British planning was largely carried out at the local level until the coming into force of the *Town and Country Planning Act* of 1947. Whilst it is true that the 1947 Act reduced the number of local planning authorities from 1,441 to 145, it must also be pointed out that in actual fact county councils had been actively concerned about planning for many years previously.

The writer recently had the privilege of studying planning practice, past and present, in the County of Berkshire in some detail; and it will perhaps indicate the working of British legislation to consider briefly the history of planning in that county.

Berkshire measures about 50 miles from east to west and has a width measured from north to south varying from eight to thirty miles. It has a population of just under 300,000. The only large town within the county is Reading with a population of 115,000; but Reading is a County Borough and is not part of the County for administrative purposes. The largest towns (municipal boroughs) coming under county jurisdiction are Maidenhead and Windsor with populations of 27,000 and 22,000 respectively. There are six such towns with their own local governments and the remainder of the County is divided into eleven rural districts and one urban district.

The first interest taken by Berkshire County Council in planning was in 1922 when the City of Oxford proposed a planning scheme which would have included not only the City but also an appreciable fringe area in Berkshire. Oxford proposed that a statutory joint committee be established to prepare a planning scheme, but Berkshire County Council refused to entertain the idea of a statutory committee. It was ultimately agreed to establish an advisory committee. This committee existed for some twenty-five years, but it never produced a planning scheme acceptable to all the local authorities concerned. Hence nothing was accomplished. This experience was by no means unusual but happened many times with advisory committees in all parts of England.

One of the matters of concern to the Berkshire County Council was the extension of Reading. The City of Reading was anxious to form a joint regional planning board in order to be able to plan the extensions to the town in an intelligent manner. As with Oxford, the County of Berkshire was not sympathetic. In 1947 the Chairman of the Reading Town and Country Planning Committee observed that "instead of achieving what we have hoped to achieve—that is a proper town planning board—we have had to put up with its substitute, an advisory board". "An advisory committee", he pointed out, "had no executive powers but this was the only way they could get surrounding authorities to agree to come in with all."

The next interest of the County Council in planning was indicated in 1927 by the establishment of the Berkshire Town Planning Advisory Committee. It consisted of representatives of the County Council and the District Councils, and it was asked to investigate the conditions and resources of the County with reference to the Town Planning Acts and to advise on the promotion, co-ordination and linking up of Town Planning Schemes within the area. This Committee engaged a well known consultant, and his report, approved in principle in 1930, was given wide circulation. With the coming of the depression, financial support of this Committee was withdrawn, and the County Clerk expressed the view that with few exceptions the members of the County Council were either apathetic or hostile to the idea of Planning and the District Councils were completely apathetic and their officers incapable of undertaking the work. However, interest in Planning revived in 1932, probably as the result of the new Act and three Regional Planning Committees were established on a voluntary basis in 1933. The technical staff for these committees worked under the direction of the County Surveyor who became known as the County Town Planning Officer. In addition, the *Restriction of Ribbon Development Act, 1935* placed new responsibilities on the County Council, and the technical work for this committee was also carried out by the County Surveyor. In 1945, the County decided to appoint a full time planning officer and this officer assumed his duties in February, 1946.

At first, the District Councils viewed the County Council's planning activities with deep suspicion and felt that it was encroaching on local rights. Later, most District Councils were convinced that the County Surveyor was not

[2]Hansard (House of Commons), 1st Dec. 1952, pp 1112-3.

pressing forward with the work with sufficient vigour. In 1945, one District Council employed its own consultants, and others considered doing the same. These Regional Committees failed to complete any planning schemes, although one was approaching completion when the system was abandoned. The work was of course delayed by the war; but quite apart from this, it was evident that the system could not possibly work effectively. In order to prepare a plan it was necessary for the County Town Planning Officer to concoct a scheme that would be acceptable not only to his committee, which seldom agreed to anything, but also to all the major landowners concerned. The result was either no plan or a very weak one.

As a result of these activities by the County Surveyor, the administrative changes brought about in Berkshire by the Act of 1947 were less drastic than would appear at first sight. Moreover, the Act gave the power to county councils to "delegate" some of their powers to the local district councils. This has meant that many of the smaller day-by-day decisions have been made at a local level; and, in Berkshire at least, this system appears to have worked reasonably well. Final authority remains with the County Council, but a local council can, if it wishes, appeal to the Ministry in connection with a planning decision by the County Planning authority.

Appeals are an essential part of British planning administration. In Berkshire, for example, there were 117 appeals during the period from 1947 to 1953. The great majority of these were appeals by private land-owners, but a few were appeals by district councils. Of the total, 69% were dismissed, 14% were allowed conditionally, 10% were allowed unconditionally, 5% were withdrawn, and in 2% of the appeals it was decided that planning permission was not required. Appeals may also be made against the proposals contained in development plans. In Berkshire, there were only 38 such objections; critics of the plan suggested that this indicated either that the plan was weak or that the public were uninformed. In the neighbouring County of Middlesex, where the pressure on land is much more intense, there were more than 7,000 objections to the County Development Plan.

The system of planning appeals has proved to be cumbersome and costly and many appeals seem to be concerned with relatively trivial matters. Nevertheless the system has proved to be a good one. It provides a protection against unwise or arbitrary decisions by planning officers and furthermore provides the machinery whereby modifications in policy of the central government can find expression at the local level.

Speaking in 1927, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, then Minister of Health had stated that "the Government would not be content till every square inch of the country from Lands End to John o' Groats was the subject of a town planning scheme of some kind". What actually happened was that by 1942 only 5% of the area of England was covered by operative planning schemes. The attempt to develop any realistic planning through the voluntary association of local Councils was a complete failure. It is true that there were other deficiencies in the legislation, notably what has been aptly termed "the haunting spectre of compensation". But the primary reasons for the failures of British planning, under pre-war legislation, were the basis of voluntary action and voluntary co-operation plus the small units of administration which prevented the employment of proper technical personnel.

In 1943, Mr. Churchill observed in his notes:

> *"From the discussion we had this morning, I derived the conviction that the Ministry of Town and Country Planning must have statutory power now to compel recalcitrant, obstructive, or merely incompetent County authorities to do what is necessary in the larger interest. Pray let a clause be drafted giving this power, and let this be examined by the same Ministers who have prepared the Bill."*[3]

One may add to this that, if power is needed to compel County authorities to act, it is even more important that the County authorities themselves have the necessary powers to act, either directly or through the local subordinate councils.

General Conclusions

The lessons of British planning are fairly clear. Firstly, planning powers at the local level must be given to authorities whose territories and population are large enough to enable them to employ a proper planning staff consisting of a team of experts with a highly competent leader. This would seem to be of fundamentally greater importance than making the boundaries of a local planning authority coincide with those of a geographical region. Co-ordination of planning efforts within a region can be carried out on a professional basis if there are competent professional planning officers. Such co-operation is encouraged in England by the Regional Offices of the Ministry; but these Regional Offices are not in any sense regional planning authorities. They function only as Branches of the Ministry in London. It is significant that, although the 1947 Act enables the Minister to constitute joint boards as statutory planning authorities, such action has not yet been found necessary.

The above observations should probably be qualified in respect of urban regions. One of the disappointments of the 1947 Act was that no provision was made for the creation of a Greater London Planning Authority. Planning powers are vested in the London County Council and many surrounding boroughs and counties. The population of Greater London approaches 10,000,000 but the population of the area comprising the London County Council is only about one-third of this. There is clearly a need in London for an overall planning authority and the same applies to other conurbations such as Birmingham and Glasgow.

British experience seems to show that it is a waste of time to expect local authorities to co-operate for planning purposes on a voluntary basis. Planning powers must be placed at the appropriate level of local government and the authorities must be required to use them. Thirty years of effort under the voluntary system produced negligible results; five years of effort under the new system has produced realistic development plans covering practically the whole country.

[3] W. S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, volume IV, p. 841.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK

Government

Both Sweden and Denmark are divided historically into provinces but these are no longer of any significance in the present governments. As a consequence, regional planning is virtually non-existent. Nor is there any ministry in either country specifically established to deal with planning matters. In Sweden matters related to the various planning Acts come under the general supervision of the Royal Board of Building, which in turn is under the Ministry of Communications. Another Ministry concerned directly with planning matters is the Ministry of Agriculture, which, through the Royal Land Surveying Board, encourages planning in rural areas and has powers to control the size and arrangement of agricultural holdings. In Denmark, planning Acts are administered by the Minister of Labour and Housing. In order to assist this Minister the office of Government Advisor on Town Planning has been created.

Local government in both countries is strong, and its rights are carefully preserved against encroachment. The basic units of local government are "communities" and towns. The "communities" are small and numerous, 1,300 in Denmark and considerably more in Sweden. It should be noted, however, that the number in Sweden was roughly halved under the terms of a Local Government Act passed in 1951. In Sweden, both "communities" and towns function under the general supervision of County Administrations (Stockholm, like London, is a County in its own right). The County is essentially an administrative unit, representing the executive branch of the government, and consists of a governor appointed by the King, assisted by a number of officials including an architect, a land surveyor, a road engineer and a civil engineer. These officials exercise varying degrees of supervision over the activities of "communities" and towns. In some instances they will provide technical assistance, for example in the preparation of plans, and they will see that municipalities fulfill the obligations placed upon them by national laws.

In Denmark, "communities" come under supervision by County Councils, but towns do not. Copenhagen and Frederiksberg (which is within Copenhagen) form separate units of administration. The County Councils are elected, but the Chairman of a County Council is a civil servant appointed by the Crown. Apart from these differences, local government in Denmark resembles that of Sweden, but there are no County Architects and consequently planning is mostly at the municipal level. It may be noted also that most local councils ("communes" and towns) employ architects on either a full-time or part-time basis. Such architects are responsible for the preparation of plans and are not usually permitted to engage in private practice.

Planning Legislation

Sweden was one of the first countries to require development in densely-built areas to be controlled in accordance with town plans. The law of 1874 required such plans to be prepared and prescribed to some extent the content of local building by-laws. This law continued, with modifications, until a *Town and Country Planning Act* was passed in 1931. It stated expressly that the use of urban land should be regulated by town plans. These plans, referred to as town plans (*stadsplanen*) are usually detailed plans of a portion of a town only. General development plans of urban areas (*generalplanen*) were first required by an Act passed in 1947, though some had been prepared previously. This Act also required the preparation of "country plans" in rural areas where development was proposed and made provision for the co-ordination of plans of adjacent municipalities by means of regional plans. The term regional in this connection does not imply a geographical region but merely indicates that more than one municipality is involved.

A typical regional plan is concerned with the following matters:

(a) the location of highways and other major roads;
(b) the restriction of access to such roads;
(c) the reservation of land for use by (i) dwellings, (ii) industry, (iii) business, (iv) military purposes, (v) schools, (vi) cultural buildings, etc., (vii) nature reserves, (viii) parks and public recreation grounds, (ix) agriculture.

A typical town plan for a new section of one of the larger towns of Sweden covers an area of 500 acres and provides for 6,700 dwellings giving an overall density of approximately 50 persons per acre. The plan deals with the arrangement of streets, the types of dwellings (one-family houses or multiple dwellings), and their heights and locations, the locations of community centres, shops, public buildings, central heating plants, industrial areas, parks and playing fields, schools, parking facilities including garages. The kind of organization required for such planning is indicated in Figure 1.

In Denmark, building by-laws have been in force in most towns since 1858. These by-laws regulated not only construction but also room sizes, lot occupancy ratios and the space between buildings. According to modern ideas the standards set by these by-laws were quite inadequate and the problem of replacing "by-law housing" in Denmark is a serious one as it is in England. The first *Town Planning Act*, passed in 1925, proved ineffective because the provisions for compensation to land-owners were excessive and the first really effective *Town Planning Act* was not passed until 1938. This Act, amended in 1949,[4] is the governing Act at present. It requires all towns to prepare town plans and places a similar obligation on other municipal councils in respect of all built-up areas having more than 1,000 inhabitants. Such plans must be prepared by the local authorities and submitted to the Ministry of Labour and Housing for approval.

A town plan prepared under the Act of 1938 may contain provisions on the following points:

(a) roads, building lines, public squares;
(b) public buildings and parks;
(c) land use zoning;
(d) size of building sites;
(e) appearance of buildings;
(f) the preservation of an area in accordance with its previous character;
(g) limitation of buildings in agricultural areas.

[4] Law No. 181 of April 29, 1938, as amended by Law No. 211 of April 23, 1949.

Development Plans

The Danish Act of 1938 required about 240 municipalities to prepare plans. Little was done before or during the war by most towns, but a total of about 100 plans have now been approved. Many of these plans are extremely detailed and refer only to the anticipated *expansion* of the town. Experience has shown that comprehensive planning can be established more satisfactorily by the preparation of Development Plans than by Town Plans. A Development Plan is a general plan covering the entire area of a town and setting forth in broad terms the way in which the development of the town is expected to take place. These plans are less detailed than Town Plans but are approved by the Minister as complying in spirit with the *Town Planning Act*. They lack the legal force of Town Plans, and are not subject to public inquiry. Moreover, a Development Plan, not being a legal plan, does not involve the municipality in the risk of paying compensation. Such plans, although not having the force of law, are enforced in practice by (a) control over mortgages for building; provision of services by the municipality, etc.; (b) subsequent detailed town plans; and (c) building by-laws.

Metropolitan Planning

A separate Act of 1949[5] deals with the metropolitan problems of the larger cities of Denmark: Copenhagen, Aarhus, Aalborg, Odense. According to this Act, a special authority (Joint Planning Board) is established by the Minister in each metropolitan area for the purpose of preparing a City Development Plan (*Byudviklingsplan*). A City Development Plan is very much simpler than most town plans, being concerned only with selecting the land required for urban development. All land within the area of the plan is divided into three classes. In the "inner zone" the land is regarded as being suitable for immediate urban development; in the "intermediate zone" land may be parcelled out for summer homes and garden plots with a view to its eventual use for urban development; and in the "outer zone" the subdivision of land is, in general, forbidden. A municipality may at its discretion transfer land from the intermediate zone to the inner zone during the period of the plan (15 years).

Land-owners may claim compensation for loss resulting from the effects of a City Development Plan, but they have to show that such loss has actually been sustained. They are not compensated for "loss of hopes" and the number of claims allowed has been small.

Although comparatively recent, this Act appears to be working well. It impressed the writer as being an exceptionally simple and rational way of dealing with the basic problems of metropolitan planning where many separate municipalities are involved. Each municipality will of course be preparing its own Town Plans or Development Plans starting from the foundation laid by the City Development Plan.

[5] Law No. 210, April 23, 1949.

Public Ownership of Land

In both Denmark and Sweden, planning is facilitated enormously by the general policy of municipal ownership of land. Most towns have acquired substantial areas of land (without powers of compulsory purchase), and the expansion of towns normally takes place on such publicly-owned land.

The City of Copenhagen, for example, started buying land in 1890 and has continued to do so ever since. It now owns 11,000 acres, much of it outside the city limits. The City of Stockholm, which has an area of 45,000 acres, owns 47,000 acres, 25,000 within the city limits and 22,000 outside. Public ownership on this scale results in the city becoming both a planning and a developing authority. It gives a sense of reality to planning, which is usually lacking where responsibilities for planning and development are divided. It prevents land speculation and resulting high land costs.

Some General Observations

Much has been achieved in the planning of towns in both Denmark and Sweden. These achievements appear to be the result of

(a) *compulsion:* local authorities are required to prepare plans within a specified time;

(b) *supervision of local authorities:* in Denmark at the national level, in Sweden by the County Administrations;

(c) *professional competence:* most town planning is carried out by architects, civil engineers or land surveyors who have spent a considerable amount of time studying town planning as part of their normal professional studies and who have gained experience in this field after graduation;

(d) *public ownership of land.*

This brief survey of planning administration in Sweden and Denmark was made possible by the kindly co-operation of many officials and others: in Sweden: Mr. Per Holmgren of Stockholm, Mr. Taga William-Olsson, formerly Planning Director at Gothenberg; Mr. Lars Ahstrand of the Royal Land Surveying Board at Stockholm; in Denmark: Mr. Kai Hendriksen, Town Planning Advisor to the Danish Government; and the members of his staff, particularly Mr. Edmund Hansen and Mr. Vagn Rud Nielsen.

PLANNING ADMINISTRATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Competition for land is probably more acute in The Netherlands than in any other country. A very high population density (777 persons per square mile) is combined with a very large rate of natural increase. It is not surprising therefore to find that planning is a matter of prime importance to the Dutch.

Government

The executive power of the State in The Netherlands is exercised by a council of ministers acting on behalf of the

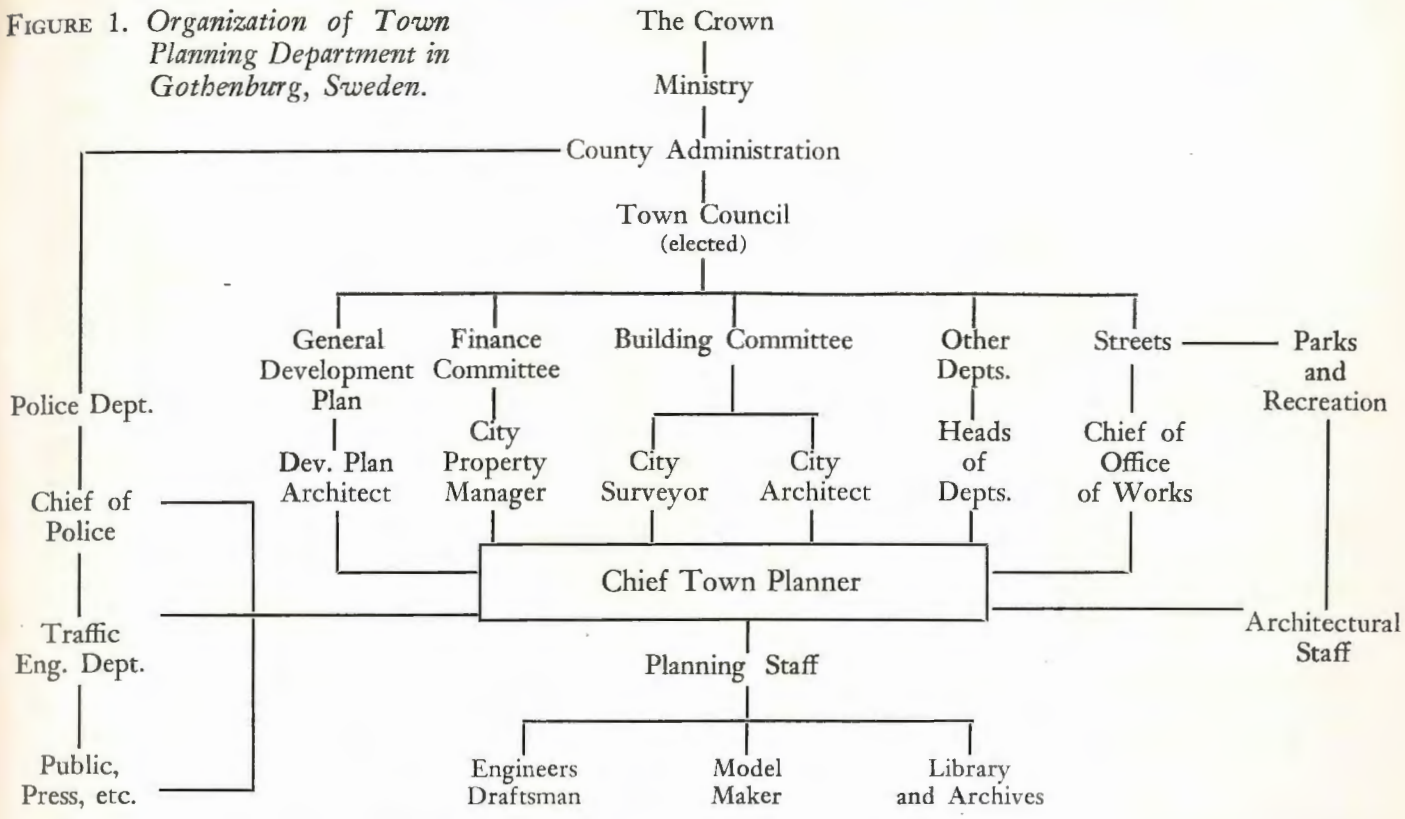


FIGURE 1. *Organization of Town Planning Department in Gothenburg, Sweden.*

sovereign. Legislation is the responsibility of Parliament which consists of an upper chamber elected by the Provinces and a lower chamber elected directly.

There are 11 Provinces and these are divided into 1,011 "communes". It may be noted that there is no basic difference in local government structure between town and country; thus a single large town may consist of several communes.[6] There is no organization in Holland comparable to a county.

Legislation

Control over the design of towns has been exercised in Holland in varying degrees since the middle ages. Such controls were used by the Central Government in the interest of defence, especially during the 80 years war with Spain (1568-1648). Local "Planning Boards" were appointed in Leyden in 1610 and in Haarlem in 1671. Unfortunately interest in planning had declined when it was most needed: that is, during the industrial expansion of towns in the nineteenth century. Consequently the large cities of Holland grew to be intolerably congested with completely inadequate open spaces and sanitary service. Legislation aimed at improving living conditions in towns, was not enacted until 1901. The *Housing Act* (1901) required communes of more than 10,000 inhabitants or whose population had increased by more than 20% during the preceding five years to prepare plans showing proposed new streets and canals. Amendments to the Act in 1921 and 1931 and Orders made pursuant to the Act in 1908 and 1932 strengthened the planning powers of communes and placed greater responsibilities upon them. This Act is still the basic Act governing planning at the local level.

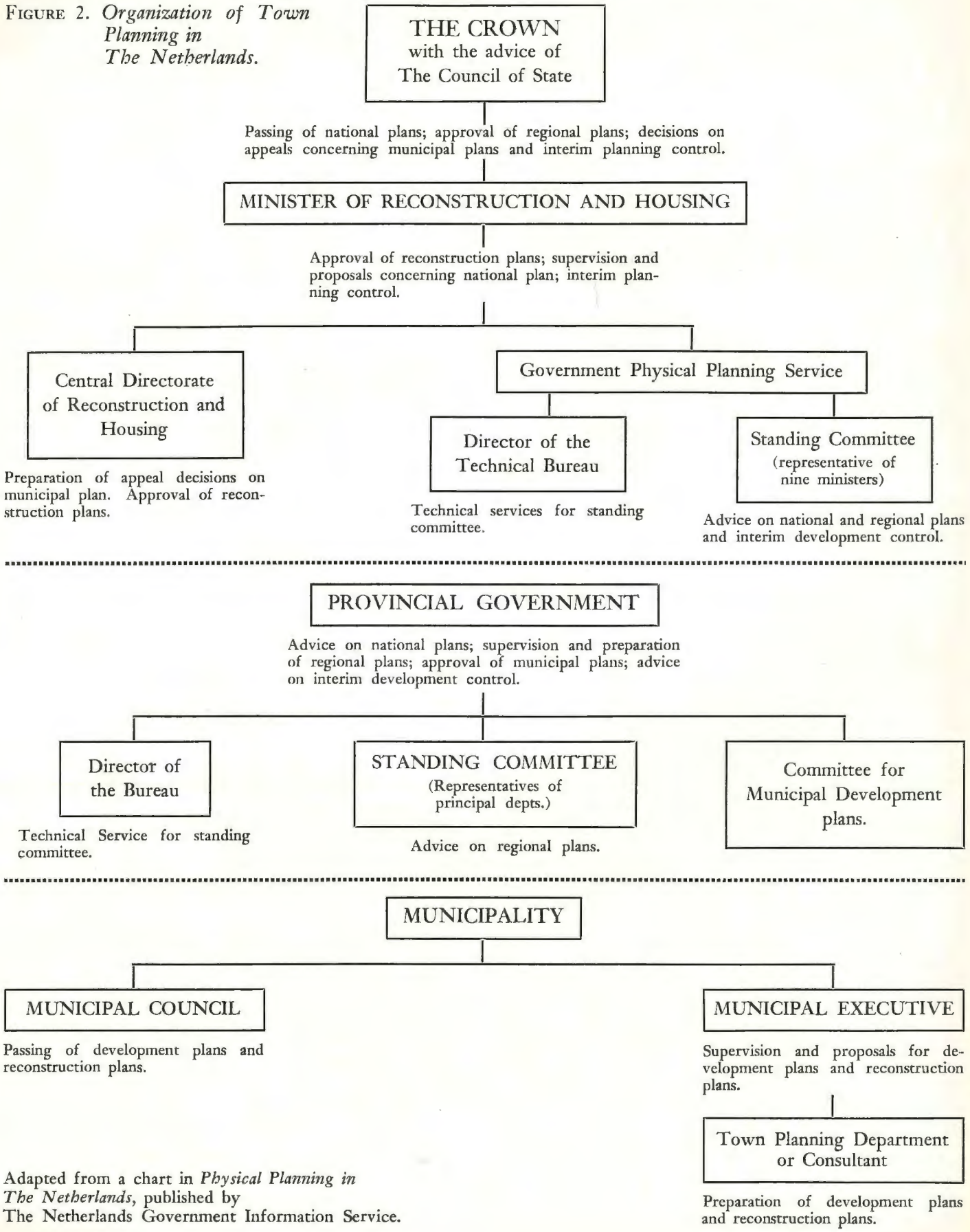
It gradually became evident that purely local planning could not accomplish a proper control over land use. One specific evil, that of ribbon development, was controlled by the Traffic Act of 1937, and a government commission was set up in 1938 to study the broader aspects of planning. The Commission's report was embodied in a Bill in 1940, but this could not be passed owing to the invasion of the country by the Germans. Certain portions of the proposed Bill were, however, enacted by decree in 1941. This "Decree" has continued until the present time but it is expected that it will soon be replaced by an Act of Parliament. It is anticipated, following a report of a Government Commission in 1950, that the new Act will separate planning powers from housing legislation at all levels of government. In the meantime, planning organizations are being developed at the national and provincial levels along the lines proposed in the commission's report.

Administration

As a result of the legislation, combined with the obviously urgent need for making the best use of the limited land available, an effective three-tier system of planning is

[6] Many communes can trace their origin back to mediaeval walled villages and towns.

FIGURE 2. *Organization of Town Planning in The Netherlands.*


THE CROWN
with the advice of
The Council of State
Passing of national plans; approval of regional plans; decisions on appeals concerning municipal plans and interim planning control.
MINISTER OF RECONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING
Approval of reconstruction plans; supervision and proposals concerning national plan; interim planning control.
Central Directorate of Reconstruction and Housing
Preparation of appeal decisions on municipal plan. Approval of reconstruction plans.
Government Physical Planning Service
Director of the Technical Bureau
Technical services for standing committee.
Standing Committee
(representative of nine ministers)
Advice on national and regional plans and interim development control.
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT
Advice on national plans; supervision and preparation of regional plans; approval of municipal plans; advice on interim development control.
Director of the Bureau
Technical Service for standing committee.
STANDING COMMITTEE
(Representatives of principal depts.)
Advice on regional plans.
Committee for Municipal Development plans.
MUNICIPALITY
MUNICIPAL COUNCIL
Passing of development plans and reconstruction plans.
MUNICIPAL EXECUTIVE
Supervision and proposals for development plans and reconstruction plans.
Town Planning Department or Consultant
Preparation of development plans and reconstruction plans.

Adapted from a chart in *Physical Planning in The Netherlands*, published by The Netherlands Government Information Service.

being rapidly evolved in Holland. The nature of this system can best be appreciated by studying the organization chart shown as Figure 2. It will be observed that there are three kinds of plans: municipal development plans, regional plans, and national plans. Municipal development plans are prepared by the communes with the assistance of their own planning staffs or consultants and with advice from the Provincial Planning Services. Regional plans are prepared by these services and, after being passed by Provincial Governments, require the approval of the Central Government. The Minister responsible is the Minister of Reconstruction and Housing; the Government Physical Planning Service is an integral part of this ministry. It should be noted that, at each level of government, plans are prepared by executive bodies composed essentially of civil servants and that such plans are then enacted by the appropriate legislative assemblies and are subject to review by the executive body at the next senior level.

National planning activities in Holland have so far been concentrated on research into some of the fundamental problems of land-use. Studies are being made of the relative suitability of land for industry, agriculture and housing. The order of these is significant: it is considered that industry must come first if Holland is to support its rapidly increasing population without a lowering of the standard of living. (It is interesting to note that the present British government tends to put agriculture first.) Specific projects studied at the national level include the development of cycle tracks on routes quite separate from normal highways and the linking up of recreational lakes by suitable yachting routes.

At the provincial level, regional plans are in the course of preparation for most of the Provinces. These plans will be in fairly general terms and will be advisory rather than statutory in character. They will be implemented by local plans prepared at the municipal level. Such plans, once they have been approved by the Province, are binding both on the individual and the municipality.

Most municipalities in the Netherlands have prepared development plans or town plans, though not all have yet received approval. This is a notable achievement, because there are a very large number of relatively small municipalities in Holland. Many of those plans will undoubtedly be reviewed when the provincial plans are completed.

Some General Observations

Planning at the municipal level, as for example at Rotterdam, Amsterdam and other large towns, is being carried out with a high degree of professional competence. Provincial (or regional) planning is relatively new but is likely to become of paramount importance especially in the more densely populated provinces. It is expected in these areas that plans will be prepared on the basis of regions within provinces rather than for complete provinces. Although Holland is a very small country, it is by no means homogeneous. The quality of soil, for example, varies from the best market garden land to sand dunes. The country is much divided by rivers and lakes. Conflicts between urban and rural interests are particularly acute in the areas around Rotterdam, The Hague and Amsterdam. In the lands being reclaimed from the sea, a regional approach to planning is essential.

It is evident therefore that the Provincial Planning Services must ultimately become the most important elements in the system of planning administration.

The writer is indebted to Mr. E. S. G. Boissevain of The Netherlands Government Physical Planning Service for much of the information herein.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of these studies of planning administration in four countries, we can perhaps arrive at some tentative conclusions applicable to conditions in Canada.

1. An effective planning system must operate simultaneously at a minimum of three levels of government: (a) local, (b) regional, (c) provincial. In addition, the Federal Government should encourage the study of national planning problems and facilitate co-operation between provincial planning authorities.
2. Most of the actual work of planning should be done at the regional level, leaving the co-ordination of regional plans and the establishment of general planning policy to the provincial planning administration and the working out of details to the local governments.
3. In establishing regional planning authorities, consideration must be given to:
   (a) natural geographic regions, especially conurbations;
   (b) the minimum effective size of a planning authority: it is tentatively suggested that the population of a regional planning district should not be less than 150,000 except in sparsely settled areas;
   (c) existing units of local government: in many instances there will be no appropriate units of local government that can function as planning authorities; pending much-needed reforms in the whole structure of local government in Canada, it may be necessary to establish single-purpose planning authorities.
4. Local planning must be compulsory and must be carried out by municipal authorities under the supervision of the regional planning authorities.
5. A high degree of professional skill is essential if planning is to be successful. This is primarily a matter of attracting able men into the planning profession.
6. Care must be taken to avoid setting up a state monopoly in planning. Private consultants are an essential part of a planning system.
7. The fundamental problem of compensation must be tackled sooner or later, preferably sooner. In this connection public ownership of land is clearly the most desirable form of land tenure from the standpoint of planning.
8. It must be remembered that planning administration as such does not solve planning probems; it merely seeks to create favourable conditions for finding solutions to such problems.

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